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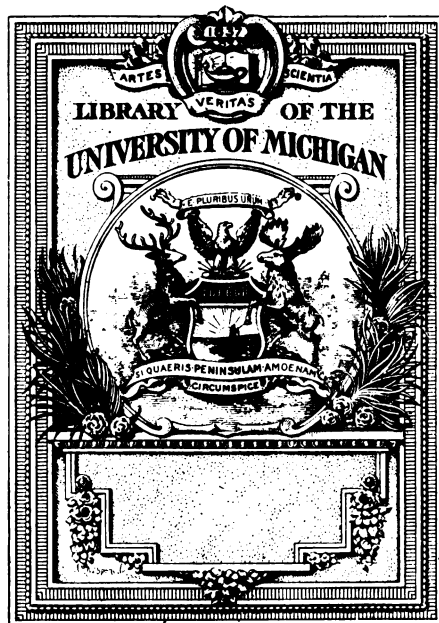
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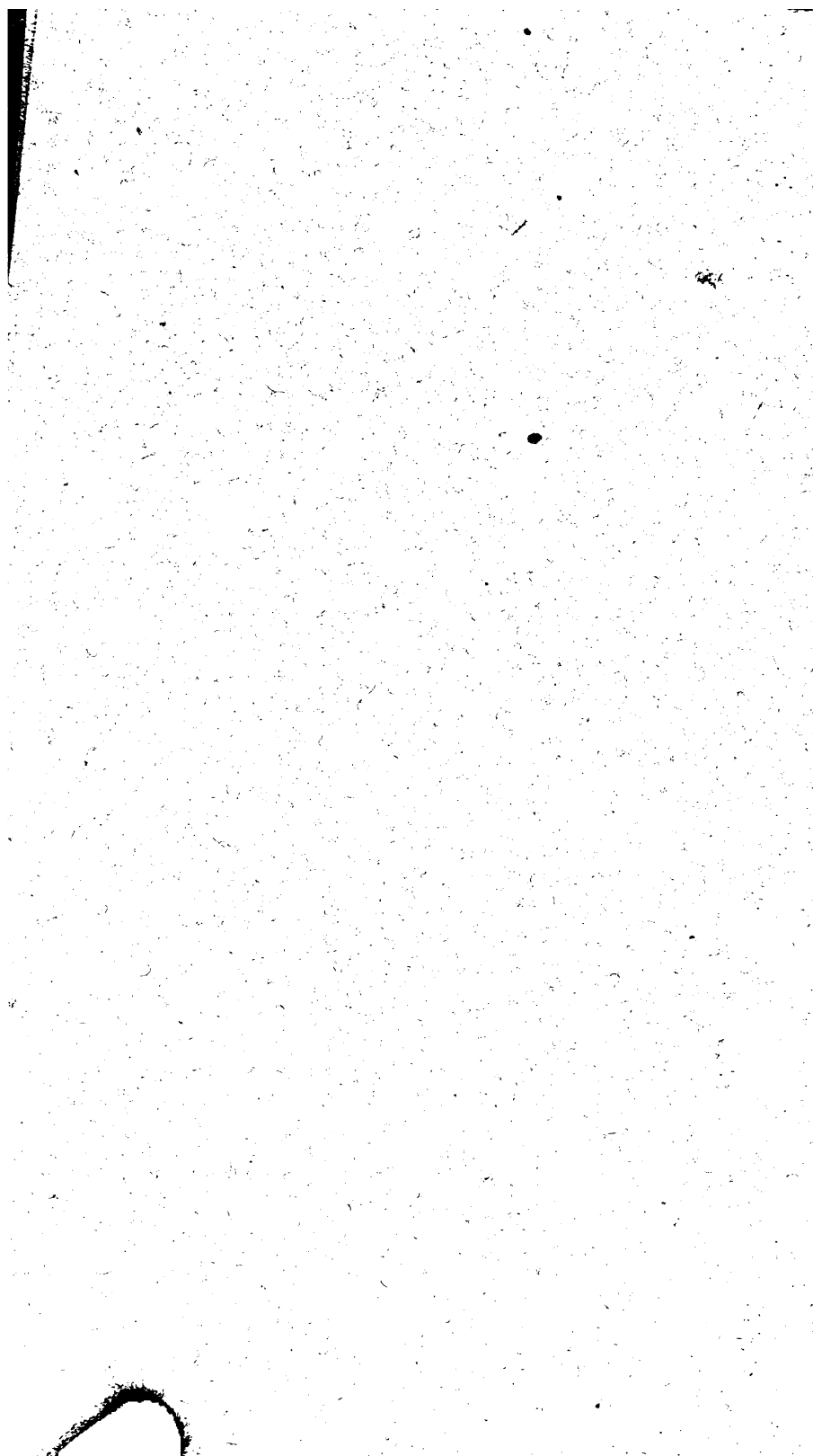
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ON THE SOURCES
OF
OVID'S HEROIDES
I, III, VII, X, XII.

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY
STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE DEGREE
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BY
JAMES NESBITT ANDERSON.

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Ἄψ δ' ὅκνη ποτὶ χεῖλος ἐλάβανε μῦθον ἰόντα,
μή τί οἱ οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν ἔπος προτιμυθήσαιο
σπερχομένου· χαλεπὸν δ' ἐτέρου νόον ἴδμεναι ἀνδρός.

Theoc. Id. 25, 65.

On the Sources of Ovid's *Heroides* I., III., VII., X., XII.

When we take into consideration the comparatively limited experience of any individual, it is not strange that most writers have found it necessary or desirable to go for matter, inspiration, or suggestion, beyond these narrow confines out into the boundless fields of the world's literature, to cull a flower here or there from some perishable contemporary, or take a draught from the mightier streams of genius which flow on forever. Many a great mind has been stirred to productive activity by personal contact with contemporaries who had already achieved fame. Ovid intimates his obligations to the Roman poets in *Trist.* 4, 10, 42:

Quotque aderant vates, rebar adesse deos.
Saepe suas volucres legit mihi grandior aevo,
Quaeque nocet serpens, quae iuvat herba, Macer.
Saepe suos solitus recitare Propertius ignes
Iure sodaliti, quo mihi iunctus erat.
Ponticus heroo, Bassus quoque clarus iambis
Dulcia convictus membra fuere mei;
Et tenuit nostras numerosus Horatius aures,
Dum ferit Ausonia carmina culta lyra.
Vergilium vidi tantum; nec amara Tibullo
Tempus amicitiae fata dedere meae.
Successor fuit hic tibi, Galle, Propertius illi;
Quartus ab his serie temporis ipse fui.

These Roman poets probably exercised most influence on Ovid in the beginning of his career, but afterwards, the Greek literature, with its greater beauty and richness, doubtless became more and more influential in his case. It is our purpose here

to determine, as far as possible, the writers, whether Greek or Roman, who influenced him most in the composition of these five letters, and we shall not be content to determine simply whether or not Ovid was acquainted with a certain work, but we shall make some effort to determine the extent of the influence in each case, for it seems more interesting and more useful from the point of view of literary criticism to know how Ovid used his sources than to know whether or not he had before him some Alexandrian poem which has since been lost.

Many of the stories treated by Ovid were very old. *Rohde, in speaking of the ancient poets, says: "Wie die hellenischen Götter nicht die Schöpfer sondern die Bildner und Leiter der Welt waren, so die Dichter älterer Zeiten nicht die Erfinder, sondern wiederum die kunstvollen Bildner ihrer Stoffe." This does not mean that they were not original. It can hardly be claimed that any literature is more original than that of the Greeks, the originators of so many kinds of literary composition. Only, they preferred to exercise their ingenuity in the treatment and development of a subject that was known, rather than in the invention of a new tale or an unheard-of plot. This is perhaps due to the fact that these works were prepared for hearers rather than for readers.

Though it is interesting and instructive when we have the sources at hand, to trace their influence on the later work, yet it is a very delicate piece of work and we must constantly be on our guard lest we go astray. Many dangers lurk in our path. The greatest, I think, is that of making intentional imitations out of accidental resemblances. This danger is especially great when the resemblance is confined to a word or phrase. For instance, it is generally admitted that Lachmann was rash, to say the least, in placing the Sappho letter later than Lucan on the strength of the single expression *furialis Erichtho* (Ov. H. 15, 139; cf. *Erichtho*, Lucan 6, 508.)** A. Zingerle, too, in

* E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, p. 11.

** It may be added that it is almost equally rash to reject a whole epistle as not genuine on the ground of a metrical irregularity in a single verse. See Alexander Bilger, *De Ovidi Heroidum* appendix, p. 3.

his good and useful book, "Ovidius und sein Verhältniss zu den Vorgängern und gleichzeitigen römischen Dichtern", has carried this verbal resemblance too far.* The human mind, like human nature, is very much the same the world over and there can be no doubt that different people sometimes have the same thoughts quite independently of one another. The trouble is that there are so many ways of transmitting ideas and the human race is so closely connected that we can seldom be quite sure that the thoughts are entirely independent. Take, for instance, Diog. Laert. 1, 10 where he is speaking of Epimenides:

Οὗτός ποτε πεμφθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς ἀγρόν ἐπὶ πρόβατον, τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐκκλίνας ὑπ' ἄνθρωπῳ τινὶ κατεκοιμήθη ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη. διαναστὰς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξήτει τὸ πρόβατον, νομίζων ἐπ' ὀλίγον κεκοιμησθαι. ὥς δὲ οὐχ εὗρισκε, παρεγένετο εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν, καὶ μετασκευασμένα πάντα καταλαβὼν καὶ παρὰ ἑτέρῳ τὴν κτῆσιν, πάλιν ἤκεν εἰς ἄστυ δι-απορούμενος. Κάκει δὲ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἰσιῶν οἰκίαν περιέτνχε τοῖς πυνθανομένοις τίς εἴη. ἕως τὸν νεώτερον ἀδελφὸν εὐρὼν τότε ἤδη γέροντα ὄντα, πᾶσαν νμαθε παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν ἀλήθειαν. In place and time this is far enough separated from Rip van Winkle yet who can be sure that there is no connection between the two?

Another case of difficulty is when there are several imitations of the original and the source of our passage may be either the original or an imitation. Take, for instance, Molière, *Le Misanthrope*, 711:

L'amour, pour l'ordinaire, est peu fait à ces lois,
Et l'on voit les amants vanter toujours leur choix;
Jamais leur passion n'y voit rien de blâmable,
Et dans l'objet aimé tout leur devient aimable:
Ils comptent les défauts pour des perfections,
Et savent y donner de favorables noms.

* I find that E. Bährens in the preface (p. VII) to his edition of Valerius Flaccus has expressed a similar opinion: "hoc tamen addo neo Zingerleium satis distinxisse similitudines fortuitas et eas imitationes quae consulto dataque opera sunt factae." Still, the comparison of similar passages is interesting and perhaps useful even when there is no imitation, and some instances of this will be found in the following pages.

La pâle est aux jasmins en blancheur comparable;
 La noire à faire peur, une brune adorable;
 La maigre a de la taille et de la liberté;
 La grasse est dans son port pleine de majesté;
 La malpropre sur soi, de peu d'attraits chargée,
 Est mise sous le nom de beauté négligée;
 La géante paroît une déesse aux yeux;
 La naine, un abrégé des merveilles des cieux;
 L'orgueilleuse a le cœur digne d'une couronne;
 La fourbe a de l'esprit; la sotte est toute bonne;
 La trop grande parleuse est d'agréable humeur;
 Et la muette garde une honnête pudeur.
 C'est ainsi qu'un amant dont l'ardeur est extrême
 Aime jusqu' aux défauts des personnes qu'il aime."

With this compare Plato, Rep. 5, 474 D:

ἢ οὐχ οὕτω ποιεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς καλοὺς; ὁ μὲν, ὅτι σιμός, ἐπίχαρις κληθεὶς ἐπαινεθήσεται ὑφ' ἡμῶν, τοῦ δὲ τὸ γυνπὸν βασιλικὸν φατε εἶναι, τὸν δὲ δὴ διὰ μέσον τούτων ἐμμετρότατα ἔχειν, μέλανας δὲ ἀνδρικοὺς ἰδεῖν, λευκοὺς δὲ θεῶν παῖδας εἶναι· μελιχλῶρους δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα οἶσι τινὸς ἄλλον ποίημα εἶναι ἢ ἐραστοῦ ἵποκοριζομένου τε καὶ εὐχερῶς φέροντας τὴν ὠχρότητα, εἰς ἐπὶ ὥρα ἤ;

The similarity of these two passages is sufficient to warrant the conclusion that they are probably connected. But Molière did not get the idea from Plato, but from Lucr. 4, 1153:

Nam faciunt homines plerumque cupidine caeci
 Et tribuunt ea quae non sunt his commoda vere.
 Multimodis igitur pravas turpisque videmus
 Esse in deliciis summoque in honore vigere.

vs. 1160 Nigra melichrus est, immunda et fetida acosmos,
 Caesia Palladium, nervosa et lignea dorcas,
 Parvula, pumilio, chariton mia, tota merum sal,
 Magna atque inmanis cataplexis plenaque honoris.
 Balba loqui non quit, traulizi, muta pudens est;
 At flagrans odiosa loquacula Lampadium fit.

Ischnon eromenion tum fit, cum vivere non quit
 Prae macie; rhadine verost iam mortua tussi.
 At tumida et mammosa Ceres est ipsa ab Iaccho,
 Simula Silena ac saturast, labeosa philema.
 Cetera de genere hoc longum est si dicere coner."

There is additional evidence to show that Molière was especially familiar with Lucretius and had even translated him in part.

With these are to be compared further Hor. Sat. 1, 3, 38:

Illuc praevertamur, amatorem quod amicae
 Turpia decipiunt caecum vitia, aut etiam ipsa haec
 Delectant, veluti Balbinum polypus Hagnae.

Ov. A. A. 2, 657:

Nominibus mollire licet mala. Fusca vocetur,
 Nigrior Illyrica cui pice sanguis erit:
 Si crassa est, Veneris similis, si torva, Minervae.
 Sit gracilis, macie quae male viva sua est.
 Dicabilem, quaecumque brevis. quae turgida, plenam:
 Et lateat vitium proximitate boni.

Cf. Also Am. 2. 4 for the sentiment, and Rem. Am. 323—330 for the opposite. Also Prop. 3, 20, 41 Theoc. Id 6, 18; and 10, 26.

The illustration is already too long and we cannot enter here upon a discussion of the relation of these various passages to one another.*

Our difficulties in investigating the sources of an author like Ovid are further increased by the loss of so many books which he read, especially out of the Alexandrian literature. Ovid himself has been used by some scholars to reconstruct the plots of such lost works.** The plan of the *Heroides* renders it possible to use this argument as far as the essential points of the story are concerned. The details cannot be obtained with any certainty.

* Most of these references may be found in the edition of Molière by Despois & Mesnard, 5, 557.

** See Dilthey, *Cydis* p. 46.

Some general remarks on Ovid and the *Heroides* may not be out of place here. First of all a word may be said for Ovid as a poet. Perhaps no Roman writer has been so variously estimated by modern scholars. On the whole, I think he has been greatly underestimated. His very virtues have been turned against him. His cleverness in manipulating the language and in handling the metres has led some to think that he was nothing but a skilful juggler with words. Rhetorical tricks we affect to despise, no matter how cleverly used, and there is no doubt that Ovid is somewhat of a rhetorician. Ovid repeats himself often and other people sometimes, and that gives rise to the idea that he was nothing but a superficial, though clever, imitator. Such works as the present tend to strengthen this notion and it is for this reason that I wish to say here that Ovid, though he borrows freely, yet manages to put his own inimitable stamp on his material, and that he must still be regarded, in spite of his many faults, as a great and original poet. We may apply to his poems the words which he himself uses of another's:

Cumque nihil totiens lecta e dulcedine perdant,
Viribus illa suis, non novitate, placent.*

In regard to the *Heroides*, opinions differ very much both on the whole and on the separate letters. For instance, Loers praises the Sappho letter very highly and says of it "omnium maxime Ovidianam videri dixerim", while Palmer speaks of the same letter as "condemned by Lachmann and by every scholar possessed of common sense". On the whole, I must confess that I do not regard the *Heroides* as one of the best works of Ovid. There is too much rhetorical pathos, too many repetitions, in short too much sameness, too much machine-work in plot and execution, though it must be granted that this defect is partly inherent in the subject-matter and would be hard to avoid. Still, some of the letters are very fine and all of them abound in fine passages. Ovid resembles Euripides in being a very quotable writer.

* Ex P. 3, 5, 13.

The origin of this species of composition concerns us directly. Ovid himself claims originality for the work and I see no good reason for doubting the correctness of his statement. A. A. 3, 345:

Vel tibi composita cantetur Epistola voce:
 Ignotum hoc aliis ille novavit opus.

Prop. 5, 3* (Arethusa) has been looked upon as possibly suggesting the idea of the Heroides to Ovid. This is quite possible, but nothing more can be said for it. There is no very great similarity except in the opening and the close. See, however, Dilthey, Obs. in Epp. Heroid. Ovid. partic. 1. p. 4: "Omnino auctorem heroidum haud incedere in via a se primo aperta, sed potius dudum ab aliis munita et paene trita, varia mihi persuadent indicia. inter quae gravissimum est carmen Propertii [V, 3]" etc. Cf. Tolkiehn p. 9.

Some have suspected an Alexandrian source for the Heroides. Cf. Tolkiehn, Quaest. ad Her. Ov. Spectant. p. 8: Verisimile enim est, Ovidium hoc carminum genus non invenisse, sed iam antea apud aevi alexandrini poetas similia extitisse, quae sibi ad imitandum proponeret praesertim cum argumenta vel tota vel maximam partem e fontibus graecis eum hausisse notum sit." Some try to evade Ovid's statement by interpreting it to refer to Roman literature alone. Cf. Tolkiehn p. 9, and Luňak, Quaestiones Sapphicæ p. 43. It seems to me however that this position is untenable. Ovid's words will hardly bear this interpretation without straining.

By claiming originality for the plan of the Heroides, Ovid probably meant that no such *collection* of epistles was in existence at his time. It is probable enough that he received suggestions from the Alexandrians, Propertius, or others. The insertion of single letters in the body of other works was doubtless common enough. It was quite common in the later erotic literature. Cf. Achilles Tatius, 5, 18; Xen. Ephes. 2, 5; Chariton 8, 4; Nicetas Eugen. 1, 169; 202, 240, 284.

Attention has also been called to the statement of Paeon the Amathusian ap. Plut. Thes. c. 20, that when Ariadne was

* Müller's edition.

left in Cyprus, the native women brought her letters to console her, pretending that they were from Theseus: *τὰς οὖν ἐγχωρίους γυναῖκας τὴν Ἀριάδην ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ περιστέειν ἄθυμους ἐπὶ τῇ μονῳσίᾳ καὶ γράμματα πλαστὰ προσφέρειν, ὡς τοῦ Θησέως γράφοντος αὐτῇ*. "En habes herois Epistulam!", says A. Kalkman, *De Hippolytis Euripideis* p. 100.

As these letters are essentially rhetorical, it may be worth our while to consider Ovid's rhetorical training. Upon this point Seneca the Elder throws some light, *Controv.* 2, 2, 8:

"Hanc controversiam memini ab Ovidio Nasone declamari apud rhetorem Arellium Fuscum cuius auditor fuit; nam Labionis admirator erat, cum diversum sequeretur dicendi genus. Habebat ille comptum et decens et amabile ingenium. Oratio eius iam tum nihil aliud poterat videri quam solutum carmen. Adeo autem studiose Latronem audiit, ut multas illius sententias in versus suos transtulerit. In armorum iudicio dixerat Latio:

Mittamus arma in hostis et petamus.

Naso dixit:

Arma viri fortis medios mittantur in hostis;
Inde iubete peti.

Et alium ex illa suasoria sensum aequè a Labione mutuatus est. Memini Labionem in praefatione quadam dicere, quod scholastici quasi carmen didicerant:

Non vides ut immota fax torpeat, ut exagitata reddat ignes? Mollit viros (otium), ferrum situ carpitur (et rubiginem ducit), desidia dedocet.

Naso dixit:

Vidi ego iactatas mota face crescere flammās
Et rursus nullo concutiente mori.

Tunc autem cum studeret habebatur bonus declamator. hanc certe controversiam ante Arellium Fuscum declamavit, ut mihi videbatur, longe ingeniosius, excepto eo, quod sine certo ordine per locos discurrerat.

Controv. 2, 2, 12: Declamabat autem Naso raro controversias et non nisi ethicās; libentius dicebat suasorias. Molesta

illi erat omnis argumentatio. Verbis minime licenter usus est nisi in carminibus" etc.

Senec. suas. 3, 7 helps to explain Ovid's manner of borrowing expressions. Seneca is speaking of Virgil's expression, 'plena deo':

Hoc autem dicebat Gallio Nasoni suo valde placuisse; itaque fecisse illum quod in multis aliis versibus Vergilii fecerat, non subripiendi causa, sed palam mutuandi, hoc animo ut vellet agnosci; esse autem in tragoedia eius:

feror huc illuc, ut plena deo.

Similarly Haupt (Opusc. 2, 67) compares Ov. Fast. 3, 455 'periure et perfide Theseu' with Cat. 64, 132:

Sicine me patriis avectam, perfide, ab oris,
Perfide, deserta liquisti in litore, Theseu? etc.

Also Ov. Fast. 3, 471:

Nunc quoque "nulla viro" clamabo "femina credat",
with Cat. 64, 143:

Nunc iam nulla viro iuranti femina credat,
Nulla viri speret sermones esse fideles.

So, Ov. Met. 14, 812 (s. Fast. 2, 487):

"Unus erit quem tu tolles in caerulea caeli"

is taken from Ennius (Varro L. L. 7 p. 287 Sp.).

Haupt adds: Non surripuit versus neque Ennii neque Catulli, sed praeclarorum carminum memoriam repraesentavit.

A better example than those given by Haupt is Ov. Met. 3, 353:

Multi illum iuvenes, multae cupiere puellae;
Sed fuit in tenera tam dura superbia forma,
Nulli illum iuvenes, nullae tetigere puellae.

This was evidently intended to recall Cat. 63, 42:

Multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae:
Idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,
Nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae.

We shall find other instances of this in the following letters.

See, for example,

Ep. 7, 93 Illa dies nocuit etc.,

and vs. 99:

Est mihi marmorea sacratus in aede Sychaeus etc., which are evidently intended to recall Virgil.

Cf. also *Trist.* 2, 534 "arma virumque", and

Am. 1, 15, 25:

Tityrus et fruges Aeneiaque arma legentur
Roma triumphati dum caput orbis erit.

The very first word in *Ov. Am.* (*arma*) may be intended to recall the beginning of the *Aeneid*.

The plan of the *Heroides* lends especial propriety to this usage. Much of the interest that attaches to the *Heroides*, lies in the fact that the characters are often well known in literature. Ovid assumes a certain knowledge of the literature in his readers and so permits himself to use certain phrases and expressions to recall the originals to their minds. This custom was especially common among the Alexandrians. Cf. Dillthey, *De Callimachi Cydippe* p. 109: Nec vero abhorrebat a Graecis poetis, ut alieno bono suam decorarent operam. velut moris quodam modo erat Alexandrina aetate, ut aliorum versus poetarum domesticis insererentur integri, vel quo admiratio indicaretur antiquioris carminis, vel quo grata alicuius loci excitaretur memoria. (s. foot-note.) Sic Apollonius quinque Eumeli versus cōtinuos Argonauticis suis intexuit, testante scholiasta ad III 1372. idem Callimachi unum repetiit versum (cf. Schol. I 1309), plures Callimacheorum effinxit simillimos". Dillthey gives several other examples among the Greeks. Then: ac secutus est Alexandrinos hac in re Vergilius quoque, quem unum novimus versum e Graecis Partheni praeceptoris transtulisse (cf. Meinek. *anall. alex* p. 285 sq.), alterum e Varronis Atacini carminibus (cf. Wuellnerum de Varr. *Atac.* p. 34 sq.), tertium Catulli (cf. Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* V 591). idem Furi Antiatii plura diligenti imitatione expressit auctore Macrobio *Sat.* VI, 1 (cf. Weichertum *poett. lat. min.* p. 350 sqq.)". Dillthey then speaks of Ovid.

Let us now proceed to a closer examination of some of the letters.

Ovid. *H.* 1. (Penelope.)

The manner in which Ovid used his sources can best be determined from those letters about the sources of which there

can be no doubt. If we had nothing left but the subject of this and the third letter (*Briseis*), we should still feel great confidence in referring them to Homer. To whom else would one go when Homer has treated a subject fully?

Cf. *Ov. Am.* 3, 9, 25:

Adice Maeoniden, a quo, ceu fonte perenni,
Vatum Pieriis ora rigantur aquis.

and *Am.* 3, 9, 29:

Durat opus vatum: Troiani fama laboris,
Tardaque nocturno tela retexta dolo,
(where the last line represents the *Odyssey*).

Trist. 2, 375:

Aut quid *Odyssea* est nisi femina propter amorem,
Dum vir abest, multis una petita viris?

Accordingly we must look in the *Odyssey* for the sources of this letter. It is hardly necessary to add that Ovid frequently speaks of Homer and in the highest terms.

Cf. *Am.* 1, 15, 9:

Vivet Maeonides, Tenedos dum stabit et Ide,
Dum rapidas Simois in mare volvet aquas.

Further: *Am.* 1, 8, 61; *A. A.* 2, 279; 3, 413; *Rem.* 365; *Fast.* 2, 119; *Trist.* 1, 1, 47; 1, 6, 21; 2, 379; 4, 10, 22; *Ex P.* 3, 9, 23; 4, 2, 21.

Tolkiehn p. 56 gives various passages in Ovid which show acquaintance with Homer: *Am.* 1, 7, 31; 1, 9, 39; 1, 10, 53; 1, 13, 1; 2, 5, 39; *A. A.* 2, 400.

See also Washietl, *De Similitudinibus Imaginibusque Ovidianis*.

Ov. H. 1, 1 *lento tibi mittit, Ulixē.*

Cf. vs. 66 *aut ubi lentus abes?*

Ep. 19, 70 *Cur totiens a me, lente natator, abes?*

For the expression Cf. *Prop.* 4, 23, 12:

Irascor, quoniam 's, lente moratus heri.

1, 6, 12:

A pereat, siquis lentus amare potest.

1, 15, 4:

Tu tamen in nostro lenta timore venis.

3, 6, 14 (cf. vs. 22):

Nec mihi ploranti lenta sedere potest.

4, 7, 20:

Hostibus eveniat lenta puella meis.

The reference, of course, is to the twenty years' absence of Odysseus, (Cf. *Od.* 23, 170: *ἔλθοι ἑικοσὶ ἔτει ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν*. Theoc. *Id.* 16, 51 speaks of his 120 months' wanderings.), but there is the connotation of *indifference, intentional delay*.

Ovid dates this letter just after the return of Telemachus. This, according to Homer, would be just before Odysseus made himself known in his own house. So the twenty years of waiting are already accomplished.

Ov. H. 1, 3: Troia iacet certe.

Cf. *Met.* 13, 505: — *iacet Ilion ingens.*

Od. 1, 2: — *ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πολίεθρον ἔπερσεν.*

Closer is *Virg. Aen.* 3, 3 — *ceciditque superbum*

Ilum et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia.

Perhaps Ovid is referring to the famous verses, *Il.* 4, 164:

*ἔσσεται ἡμαρ ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ὀλόγη Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐὺμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.*

The next verse in Ovid bears a slight resemblance to the second verse of Homer and so to that extent favors the suggestion. vs. 4:

Vix Priamus tanti totaque Troia fuit.

(Notice that *Priamus* occupies the same place in the verse as *Πρίαμος* above, and *totaque Troia* corresponds loosely to *καὶ λαός*.)

With vs. 4, Cf. *Prop.* 4, 19, 4:

Tantine, ut lacrimae Africa tota fuit?

Ov. H. 1, 3 (2 nd half): — *Danaïs invisa puellis.*

The spirit is fairly well represented in *Od.* 19, 260 where Penelope calls Troy:

Κακοῖλον οὐκ ὀνομαστήν.

Cf. Hor. O. 1, 1, 24: bellaque matribus Detestata.

Ov. H. 1, 5:

*O utinam tum, cum Lacedaemona classe petebat
Obrutus insanis esset adulter aquis!*

Cf. Ap. Rh. 4, 33: αἶθε σε πόντος,

ξείνε, διέρραισεν πρὶν Κολχίδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι.

For the fleet, cf. Ep. 5, 41. For the builder, see Il. 5, 62.

For *insanis*, Ruhnken, Dictata ad Ovidii Heroidas, compares Virg. Ecl. 9, 43:

Insani feriant sine littora fluctus.

Adulter. The word *μοιχός* does not occur in Homer but is presupposed in *μοιχάγρια* Od. 8, 332.

Cf. rather Hor. O. 1, 15, 19 (speaking to Paris):

— tamen heu serus adulteros

Crines pulvere collines.

Hor. O. 3, 3, 25, applies the epithet to Helen:

Iam nec Lacaenae splendet adulterae

Famosus hospes.

Cf. Cat. 68, 103:

Ne Paris abducta gavisus libera moecha

Otia pacato degeret in thalamo.

Ov. Am. 2, 18, 37:

Et Paris est illic et adultera, nobile crimen.

Trist. 2, 371:

Ilias ipsa quid est aliud nisi adultera, de qua

Inter amatorem pugna virumque fuit?

Ov. H. 1, 7:

Non ego deserto iacuissem frigida lecto,

Non quererer tardos ire relictas dies.

Cf. Prop. 5, 7, 6:

Et quererer lecti frigida regna mei.

For the matter cf. Hm. Od. 17, 102:

λέξομαι εἰς εὐνήν, ἣ μοι στονόεσσα τέτυκται,

αἰεὶ δάκρυσ' ἐμοῖσι πεφυρμένη, ἐξ οὗ Ὀδυσσεὺς

ᾤχεθ' ἄμ' Ἀτρεΐδην εἰς Ἴλιον.

and 19, 515:

αὐτὰρ ἐπὶν νύξ ἔλθῃ ἔλθοι τε κοῖτος ἄπαντας,
 κείμαι ἐνὶ λέκτρῳ, πυκιναὶ δέ μοι ἄμφ' ἀδινὸν κῆρ
 δῆξεται μελεδῶνες ὀδυρομένην ἐρέθουσιν.

16, 38: — δίζυραι δέ οἱ αἰεὶ

φθίνουσιν νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέατα δάκρυ χροΐσῃ.

Ovid's expression, however, especially *frigida*, is not at all Homeric but belongs to the later erotic poetry. The coldness of loveless nights corresponds to the fire of love. See Ep. 7, 23 and note.

Cf. Ep. 19, 69; 19, 93; A. A. 3, 70; Tib. 1, 8, 39; Cat. 68, 29.

Ov. H. 1, 9:

*Nec mihi quaerenti spatiosam fallere noctem
 Lassasset vidua pendula tela manus.*

The spinning-wheel and the loom, or their representatives, played a very important part in woman's life until quite recent times. References to such work are frequent in Ovid. Cf. vs. 78 below; Ep. 3, 70; 8, 77; 19, 37; 10, 90;

Trist. 4, 1, 13:

*Cantantis pariter, pariter data pensa trahentis
 Fallitur ancillae decipiturque labor.*

Cf. *Prop. 1, 3, 41:*

Nam modo purpureo fallebam stamine somnum.

Hm. Od. 21, 350:

ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμμιζε
 ἰστόν τ' ἡλακάτην τε.

19, 139 and 2, 94:

σθησαμένη μέγαν ἰστόν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν, ὑφαίνειν.

15, 515 Telemachus says: οὐδέ σε μήτηρ

ὄψεται· οὐ μὲν γάρ τι θαμὰ μνηστῆρσ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ
 φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερωίων ἰστόν ὑφαίνει.

19, 149:

ἐνθα καὶ ἡματιή μὲν ὑφαίνεσκον μέγαν ἰστόν,
 νύκτας δ' ἀλλύεσκον, ἐπεὶ δαΐδας παραδείμην.

This last refers to the famous trick by which Penelope deceived those simple-minded suitors and kept them waiting

for three long years. It must have been present to Ovid's mind when he wrote this. Cf. *Am.* 3, 9, 29 (quoted above):

*Durat opus vatū: Troiani fama laboris,
Tardaque nocturno tela retexta dolo.*

and *Ex P.* 3, 1, 113:

Morte nihil opus est, nihil Icarotide tela.

Prop. 2, 9, 4:

*Coniugium falsa poterat differre Minerva,
Nocturno solvens texta diurna dolo.*

Why then did Ovid avoid mentioning the ruse here? This has puzzled the commentators, some wishing to see the allusion anyhow. Is not the explanation rather this? According to Homer, Penelope was to choose one of the suitors when she finished the winding-sheet. Ovid did not wish to bring this in because he represents her as unwavering in mind. Cf. *vs.* 83 (below):

*Increpet usque licet: Tua sum, tua dicar oportet.
Penelope coniunx semper Ulixis ero.*

Other references to spinning or weaving are: *Eur. Bacch.* 116; *Tib.* 1, 3, 85; 2, 1, 9; 2, 1, 16; *Virg. G.* 1, 293; *Eur. Iph. T.* 222; *Hor. O.* 3, 27, 64; *Theoc.* 18, 32; *Prop.* 4, 5, 15.

Spatiosam noctem. On the long nights cf. *Hor. O.* 1, 25, 7:

*Me tuo longas pereunte noctes,
Lydia, dormis?*

Prop. 1, 12, 13:

Nunc primum longas solus cognoscere noctes Cogor.

Ov. H. 17, 181:

Et longae noctes et iam sermone coimus.

Ov. H. 1, 11: Cf. *Ep.* 13, 149 f.

Ov. H. 1, 12: Cf. *Ep.* 8, 76; 19, 109; 17, 216, 18, 196; *Trist.* 3, 11, 10.

Ov. H. 1, 13: Cf. *Ep.* 9, 36—42.

Ov. H. 1, 14: Cf. *Ep.* 13, 63 f.

Ov. H. 1, 15:

Sive quis Antilochum narrabat ab Hectore victum.

Antilochus is mentioned as killed in *Hm. Od.* 3, 112; 11,

468; 24, 16 and 78; but the slayer is not named. In 4, 187, however, Memnon is referred to:

μνήσατο γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμόμονος Ἀντιλόχοιο,
τόν 'ρ' Ἡοῦς ἔκτεινε φαινῆς ἀγλαὸς υἱός.

(I get the reference from the Loers-Edition of the Heroides.) Loers compares also Pind. Pyth. 6, 28. How is this discrepancy to be accounted for? The supposition of some of them* that Ovid intentionally puts this mistake in the mouth of Penelope, is hyper-exegesis. Ovid would scarcely have chosen this way to indicate that Penelope was "une femme ignorante qui ne pouvoit pas sçavoir exactement tous les points de l'Histoire". The explanation lies rather in the number of places where the incident is mentioned with omission of the slayer's name. Besides, Ovid is nothing but human after all and we should not wonder that, even with his remarkable memory, he could make an occasional slip. I do not see any ground for intentional change and do not believe he had any authority for it. It is true, however, that Hyg. 113, as we have it, states that Antilochus was slain by Hector, but this is probably to be regarded as a fault of the text as it is inconsistent with the preceding chapter. Some (as Ribbeck and Ehwald) think that Ovid made use of such compilations as Hyginus and Apollodorus, but it seems to me very doubtful. Such mistakes as occur in verses 15 and 91 would be arguments against this supposition. If he used such works at all, it would be only for such secondary matters. For the main sources, at all events, we must go to compositions of more literary merit and more detailed elaboration.

Ov. H. 1, 17:

Sive Menoetiaden falsis cecidisse sub armis

Cf. Hm. II. 16, 817.

Ov. H. 1, 19:

Sanguine Tlepolemus Lyciam tepefecerat hastam.

Cf. Hm. II. 5, 657 — ὁ μὲν βάλεν αἰχένα μέσσον

Σαρπηδῶν, αἰχμὴ δὲ διαμπερὲς ἦλθ' ἀλεγεινή.

* e.g. Meziriac (Bachet), Commentaires sur les Epist. d'Ovide, vol. 1, p. 37.

For *Lyciam* cf. Il. 5, 647: *Σαρπηδῶν Λυκίων ἀγός.*

For *tepefecerat* Ruhnken compares

Hor. Sat. 2, 3, 136:

In matris iugulo ferrum tepefecit acutum.

and Virg. Aen. 9, 419: iit hasta

Stridens, traiectoque haesit tepefacta cerebro.

Ov. H. 1, 22:

Frigidius glacie pectus amantis erat.

Cf. Ep. 10, 32:

Frigidior glacie semianimisque fui.

Ep. 12, 142:

Sed tamen in toto pectore frigus erat.

Ep. 19, 192; 15, 112; Fast. 1, 98; 2, 753; Trist. 1, 4, 11.

This is the chill of fear, quite different from *frigida* above, and goes back to Homer, perhaps, in such expressions as *φόβον κρύεντος*, Il. 9, 2, even if *φόβος* was wrongly taken in the sense of fear. Cf. Hm. Od. 14, 225:

*καὶ πολεμοὶ καὶ ἄκοντες ἐύξεστοι καὶ οἰστοί,
λυγρὰ, τὰ τ' ἄλλοισὶν γε καταριγῆλὰ πέλονται.*

Aesch. Theb. 834:

κακὸν με καρδίαν τι περιπίτνει κρύος.

Virg. Aen. 2, 120:

Obstipuere animi, gelidusque per ima cucurrit

Ossa tremor. Cf. Aen. 1, 92; 6, 54; 12, 447.

Theoc. Id. 2, 105:

πᾶσα μὲν ἐψίχθην χιόνος πλέον.

Ov. H. 1, 24:

Versa est in cineres sospite Troia viro.

Cf. Met. 2, 216: In cinerem vertunt.

Hor. O. 3, 3, 18: — Ilion, Ilion

Fatalis incestusque iudex

Et mulier peregrina vertit

In pulverem.

Ov. H. 1, 25: *Argolici rediere duces.*

Cf. Prop. 5, 113: Nec rediere tamen Danaï.

Hm. Od. 1, 11:

Ἐνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες, ὅσοι φύγον αἰπὴν ὄλεθρον,
οἴκοι ἔσαν πόλεμόν τε πεφηνγότες ἤδ' ὀδὲ θάλασσαν.

On. H. 1, 25 (2nd half): — Altaria fumant.

Cf. *Fast.* 2, 193: fumant altaria.

Ep. 13, 112:

Nulla caret fumo Thessalis ara meo.

Hor. O. 3, 18, 7:

— vetus ara multo

Fumat odore.

Eur. Androm. 1025:

οὐδ' ἔτι πῦρ ἐπιβώμιον ἐν Τροίᾳ θεοῖσιν
λέλαμπεν καπνῷ θνῶδει.

On. H. 1, 26:

Ponitur ad patrios barbara praeda deos.

Cf. *Ep.* 12, 128; 13, 50; 13, 144.

Prop. 2, 11, 27:

Has pono ante tuam tibi, Diva, Propertius aedem,
Exuvias.

The offering of the spoils to the gods was too common to need further illustration.

On. H. 1, 28:

Illi victa suis Troica fata canunt.

Mirantur iustique senes trepidaeque puellae.

Cf. Odysseus's tales in the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th books of the *Od.*, then 13, 1:

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ,
κηληθμῷ δ' ἔσχοντο κατὰ μέγαρον σκυιόεντα.

Odysseus tells Penelope of his adventures, Cf. *Od.* 23, 306:

αὐτὰρ ὁ διογενὴς Ὀδυσσεύς, ὅσα κήδε' ἔθηκεν
ἀνδρῶποις, ὅσα τ' αὐτὸς οἰζύσας ἐμόγησεν,
πάντ' ἔλεγ' ἢ δ' ἄρ' ἐτέρπετ' ἀκούουσ' —

The subjects of his narration are contained in vss. 310—343:

Cf. *Virg. Aen.* 1, 748:

Nec non et vario noctem sermone trahebat
Infelix Dido, longumque bibeat amorem,

Multa super Priamo rogicans, super Hectore multa;
 Nunc quibus Aurorae venisset filius armis,
 Nunc quales Diomedis equi, nunc quantus Achilles.
 Immo age, et a prima dic, hospes, origine nobis
 Insidias, inquit, Danaum, casusque tuorum,
 Erroresque tuos; nam te jam septima portat
 Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas.

Virg. *Aen.* 2, 1:

Conticuere omnes, intentique ora tenebant.
 Inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto:
 Infandum, Regina, iubes renovare dolorem etc.

3, 716:

Sic pater Aeneas intentis omnibus unus
 Fata renarrabat divum, cursusque docebat.

Cf. *Ov. Am.* 2, 18, 12; *Ep.* 13, 117; 10, 126; 9, 84; 9, 105.

Ov. H. 1, 30:

Narrantis coniunx pendet ab ore viri.

Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4, 79:

Iliacos iterum demens audire labores
 Exposcit, pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.

The resemblance here is striking, to say the least.

Ov. H. 1, 31:

*Atque aliquis posita monstrat fera proelia mensa,
 Pingit et exiguo Pergama tota mero.*

Cf. *Tib.* 1, 10, 31:

Ut mihi potanti possit sua dicere facta
 Miles et in mensa pingere castra mero. (Loers.)

Palmer compares *Ep.* 17, 89 and *Am.* 1, 4, 20.

Add *A. A.* 1, 571; *Am.* 2, 5, 17.

Ov. H. 1, 33:

'Hac ibat Simois, hac est Sigeia tellus' etc.

Perhaps this description is a reminiscence of Ovid's visit
 to Troy. Cf. *Fast.* 6, 423.

For *Simois*, cf. *Il.* 5, 774: ἡχὶ ῥοαῖς Σιμόεις κτλ.

Sigeum is not mentioned in Homer.

Cf. Soph. Philoct. 355:

καὶ γὰρ πικρὸν Σίγειον οἶόν τ' ἐσσι πλάττει

κατηγόμην. Cf. Virg. Aen. 7, 294; 2, 312; Cul. 307.

For the passage cf. Ov. A. A. 2, 133:

'Haec' inquit 'Troia est', muros in litore fecit:

'Hic tibi sit Simois, haec mea castra puta' etc.

Ov. *H.* 1, 35:

Illic Acacides, illic tendebat Ulixes.

Cf. Virg. Aen. 2, 27 — iuvat ire et Dorica castra

Desertosque videre locos litusque relictum.

Hic Dolopum manus, *hic saevus tendebat Achilles*

Classibus hic locus; hic acie certare solebant. (Loers.)

Ov. *H.* 1, 36:

Hic lacer admissos terruit Hector equos

So Sedlmayer; Merkel gives: *Hic alacer missos.*

The commentators refer to the Eleg. in Mort. Drus. 319:

Hoc fuit Andromache cum vir religatus ad axem

Terruit admissos sanguinolentus equos.

I have failed to find any source for this passage. There is nothing like it in Homer. Is Ovid following some later account or is the frightening of the horses an addition of his own? Hector bound to the chariot is referred to in Trist. 3, 11, 28; 4, 3, 30.

Ov. *H.* 1, 37:

Omnia namque tuo senior, te quaerere misso,

Retulerat gnato Nestor, at ille mihi.

This is a rather ingenious addition of Ovid's, drawn from his own imagination, to account for Penelope's knowledge of the events.

Ov. *H.* 1, 39:

Retulit et ferro Rhesumque Dolonaeque caesos,

Utque sit hic somno proditus, ille dolo.

Ausus es, o nimium nimiumque oblita tuorum,

Thracia nocturno tangere castra dolo,

Totque simul mactare viros, adiutus ab uno!

Cf. Hm. Il. 10, 474: *Ῥῆσος δ' ἐν μέσῳ εὖδε.*

Cf. vss. 483 ff. for the slaughter, assisted by Diomed, vs. 455 for the death of Dolon.

Cf. Virg. Aen. 1, 469:

Nec procul hinc Rhesi niveis tentoria velis

Adgnoscit lacrimans, primo quae prodita somno etc.

For Dolon, cf. Aen. 12, 349.

Ovid refers to this same subject in Met. 13, 98 ff. and 249 ff. in the 'iudicium armorum'. Cf. also the expression 'somnus -prodidit' in Ov. H. 10, 5.

Ov. H. 1, 45:

Usque metu micuere sinus, dum victor amicum

Dictus es Ismariis isse per agmen equis.

For *micuere sinus* Ruhnken compares

Ep. 5, 37: *attoniti micuere sinus*

and Tib. 1, 11, 13: *Nec audissem corde micante tubam.*

Cf. Il. 10, 535 (Nestor speaks):

ἵππων μ' ὠκνόδων ἄμφι κίππος οὔατα βάλλει.

vs. 538:

ἀλλ' αἰνῶς δείδοικα κατὰ φρένα μή τι πάθωσιν.

For *Ismariis* (= Thracian) cf. vs. 558:

ἵπποι δ' οἶδε, γεραιέ, νεήλυδες, οὓς ἐρεείνεις,

Θρηάκιοι.

Somewhat similar is Aesch. Theb. 80 ff.

Ov. H. 1, 48:

Illos et murus quod fuit, esse solum.

In Eur. Helen 108, Teucer tells Helen in Egypt that Troy has been so completely destroyed,

ὥστ' οὐδ' ἔγχος γε τειχέων εἶναι σαφές.

Loers compares Virg. Aen. 10, 59;

Non satius cineres patriae insedisse supremos

Atque solum quo Troia fuit?

Virg. Aen. 3, 10: — *portusque relinquo*

Et campos ubi Troia fuit.

Ov. H. 1, 51:

Diruta sunt aliis, uni mihi Pergama restant.

Cf. *Met.* 13, 507: — soli mihi Pergama restant.

Ov. H. 1, 53: *Iam seges est ubi Troia fuit.*

Cf. vs. 48 above.

Hor. O. 1, 16, 18: — et altis urbibus ultimae
Stetere causae cur perirent
Funditus imprimeretque muris
Hostile aratrum exercitus insolens.

Virg. Aen. 2, 324:

Venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus
Dardaniae. *Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilion* et ingens
Gloria Teucrorum.

Ov. H. 1, 54:

Luxuriat Phrygio sanguine pinguis humus.

Cf. *Hor. O.* 2, 1, 29: Quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
Campus?

Virg. G. 1, 491:

Nec fuit indignum superis, bis sanguine nostro
Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.

Conington on *Virg.* quotes *Plut. Marius* c. 21:

Μασσαλήτας μέντοι τοῖς ὀστέοις περιθριγκῶσαι τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας, τὴν δὲ γῆν, τῶν νεκρῶν καταναλωθέντων ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ διὰ χειμῶνος ὄμβρων ἐπιπεσόντων, οὕτως ἐκλιπανθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι διὰ βάρους περίπλεω τῆς σηπεδόνης ἐνδύσης, ὥστε καρπῶν ὑπερβάλλον εἰς ὥρας πλήθος ἐξεγεγκῆν καὶ μαρτυρῆσαι τῷ Ἀρχιλόχῳ λέγοντι πιαίνεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ τοιοῦτου τὰς ἀρούρας.

and *Aesch. Theb.* 587:

τὴνδε πιανῶ χθόνα.

Ov. H. 1, 55:

Semisepulta virum curvis feriuntur aratris
Ossa.

Loers compares *Virg. Georg.* 1, 493:

Scilicet et tempus veniet, cum finibus illis
Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,
Exesa inveniet scabra robigine pila.
Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanis,
Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

Somewhat similar is Hor. *Epod.* 16, 9 ff.

Ov. H. 1, 58: *ferreus*. This expression was a commonplace.

Cf. *Ep.* 2, 137:

Duritia ferrum ut superes, adamantaque.

3, 138:

Nec miseram lenta ferreus ure mora.

4, 14:

Scribe! Dabit victas ferreus ille manus.

17, 136:

Ferrea sim, si non hoc ego pectus amem.

Ep. 10, 131; *Trist.* 1, 8, 42; *Ex P.* 4, 12, 31.

Hor. O. 1, 3, 9: *Illi robur et aes triplex*

Circa pectus erat, etc.

Tib. 1, 2, 67: *Ferreus ille fuit qui etc.*

1, 10, 1: *Quis fuit horrendos primus qui protulit enses?*

Quam ferus et vere ferreus ille fuit!

1, 10, 59: *A, lapis est ferrumque, suam quicumque puellam Verberat.*

Lygd. [*Tib.* 3], 2, 2: — *ferreus ille fuit.*

Prop. 2, 8, 12: *Illa tamen numquam ferrea dixit 'amo'.*

Hm. Od. 23, 103: *καρδίη στερεωτέρη λιθοιο.*

Il. 24, 205 (and 521): — *σιδήρειόν νύ τοι ἦτορ.*

22, 357: *ἦ γὰρ σοί γε σιδήρεος ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός.*

Cf. *Od.* 5, 191; 12, 280; 23, 172.

Aesch. Prom. 242: *σιδηρόφρων τε καὶ πέτρας ἐργασμένος.*

Eur. Med. 1275: *ὥς ἄρ' ἦσθα πέτρος ἢ σίδαρος.*

Alcest. 980: *τὸν ἐν χαλύβοις δαμάζεις σὺ βίᾳ σίδαρον.*

Theoc. Id. 13, 5: *χαλκεοκάρδιος.*

23, 24: *κῆμε μαλθακὸν ἐξ ἐπόησε σιδαρίω.*

[*Mosch*] 4, 44: *μοχθίζει πέτρης ὄγ' ἔχων νόον τὴ σιδήρου καρτερόν ἐν στήθεσσι.*

Ov. H. 1, 59:

Quisquis ad haec vertit peregrinam litora puppim

Ille mihi de te multa rogatus abit.

Cf. *Od.* 14, 126:

ὃς δέ κ' ἀλγτεύων Ἰθάκης ἐς δῆμον ἵκηται,
ἐλθὼν ἐς δέσποιναν ἐμὴν ἀπατήλια βάζει.
ἢ δ' εὖ δεξαμένη φιλέει καὶ ἕκαστα μεταλλά.

Ov. H. 1, 61:

*Quamque tibi reddat, si te modo viderit usquam,
Traditur huic digitis charta novata meis.*

This is an attempt to account for Penelope's writing a letter when she could not have known where to send it. In these letters, Ovid finds it difficult to make the circumstances fit. Usually he neglects the difficulties. Occasionally he throws in a word of explanation, as here.

Cf. *Ep.* 18, 9: See Diltthey, *Obss.* p. 5.

Ov. H. 1, 63:

*Nos Pylon, antiqui Neleia Nestoris arva,
Misimus.*

The change of the sender here is doubtless intentional, as Loers remarks. Ovid could scarcely have been ignorant that in Homer it is Athena that sends Telemachus. Ovid wishes to make Penelope take a more active interest in Odysseus's return.

Cf. *Od.* 1, 93:

πέμπω δ' ἐς Σπάρτην τε καὶ ἐς Πύλον ἱμαθόεντα
νόστον πευσόμενον πατρὸς φίλου, ἣν πού ἀκούσῃ.

The age of Nestor is mentioned in *Il.* 1, 250:

τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
ἔφθιάθ', οἳ οἱ πρόσθεν ἅμα τράφον ἠδὲ γένοντο.

In *Ov. Met.* 12, 187 Nestor says: vixi

Annos bis centum, nunc tertia vivitur aetas.

Cf. *Tib.* 4, 1, 50.

Ov. H. 1, 64: — *Incerta est fama remissa Pylo.*

Cf. *Od.* 17, 109 (Telemachus reports to his mother):

ᾗχόμεθ' ἐς τε Πύλον καὶ Νέστορα ποιμένα λαῶν.

vs. 114: αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεύς ταλασίφρονος οὐ ποτ' ἔφασκεν
ζωοῦ οὐδὲ θανόντος ἐπιχθονίων τευ ἀκοῦσαι.

Ov. H. 1, 65: — *Sparte quoque nescia veri.*

Ovid intentionally passes over the story about Calypso which Menelaus had heard from Proteus and which Telemachus reports to his mother in Od. 17, 141—146.

Other references to the sending etc. are: Od. 1, 284 f.; 4, 1; 4, 555.

Ov. H. 1, 67: — moenia Phoebi.

Cf. Ep. 5. 139: Troiae munitio (Apollo).

16, 180: Moenia Phoebeae structa canore lyrae.

but 3, 151: Neptunia — Pergama.

Met. 12, 26 (Neptune).

Met. 11, 199—204 (both Apollo and Neptune).

Pindar Olymp. 8, 41 says that Apollo and Poseidon took Aeacus as their helper and he is responsible for the destructible part of the wall. (See Meziriak 1, 53.)

There is a like discrepancy in Homer.

In Il. 7, 452, Poseidon says:

τοῦ δ' ἐπιλήσονται τό τ' ἐγὼ καὶ Ποῦβος Ἀπόλλων
ἴρωι λαομέδοντι πολίσσαμεν ἀθλίσαντε.

but 21, 446:

ἦ τοι ἐγὼ Τρώεσσι πόλιν πέρι τεῖχος ἔδειμα
εὐρύ τε καὶ μάλα καλόν, ἵν' ἄρρηκτος πόλις εἴη.

Eur. Tro. 4, Poseidon says:

ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τήνδε Τρωικὴν χθόνα
Ποῦβός τε καὶ γὰρ λαῖνονος πύργους πέρι κτλ.

Hor. O. 3, 3, 65 in speaking of Troy:

Ter si resurgat murus aheneus
Auctore Phoebus.

Virg. Aen. 2, 625 and 3, 3 mentions *Neptunia Troia*.

Virg. Aen. 5, 811 Neptune says:

Structa meis manibus periuræ moenia Troiae.

Prop. 4, 8, 39: — Pergama Apollinis arces.

Ov. H. 1, 75:

*Haec ego dum stulte metuo, quae vestra libido est,
Esse peregrino captus amore potes.*

Cf. Prop. 4, 18, 1:

Obicitur totiens a te mihi nostra libido:
Crede mihi, vobis imperat ista magis etc.

Notice especially the 'vestra' of Ovid, corresponding to the 'nostra' of Propertius, both referring to 'men' in general.

This is again Ovid's Penelope, not Homer's. Ovid is thinking perhaps of Odysseus's adventures with Circe, Od. 10, 333 ff., and with Calypso, 12, 447 ff.

Cf. Ep. 9, 47: — peregrinos addis amores.

Ep. 19, 101—104.

Meziriac (1, 85) remarks: Certes Penelope en cet endroit ne se trompe pas beaucoup: car Ulysse estoit de fort amoureuse complexion etc.

Ov. H. 1, 77:

Forsitan et narres, quam sit tibi rustica coniunx.

Cf. Ep. 12, 175:

Forsitan et, stultae dum te iactare maritae
Quaeris et iniustis auribus apta loqui,
In faciem moresque meos nova crimina fingas.

Prop. 2, 9, 22:

Forsitan et de me verba fuere mala.

For *rustica*, cf. Ep. 16, 285:

A! nimium simplex Helene, ne rustica dicam.

Ov. H. 1, 79: — *tenuis vanescat in auras.*

See Ep. 12, 85 and note.

Ov. H. 1, 81:

*Me pater Icarius viduo discedere lecto
Cogit.*

Cf. Od. 15, 16:

ἦδ' ἄρα πατήρ τε κασίγνητοί τε κέλονται
Εὐρυμάχῳ γήμασθαι.

(For Icarius cf. Od. 4, 797:

Ἰφθίμῃ κόρῃ μερμήνευος Ἰκαρίοιο.)

Cf. Od. 19, 158: — μάλα δ' ὀτρύνουσι τοκῆες
γήμασθ'.

2, 113:

μητέρα σὴν ἀπόπεμψον, ἄνωχθι δέ μιν γαμέεσθαι
τῷ, ὅτεώ τε πατήρ κέλεται καὶ ἀνδάνει αὐτῇ.

Loers regards this as a change of Homer but surely this was authority enough for Ovid. He laid a little more emphasis on the point, however, to suit his own purposes, as is shown in the following:

— et immensas increpat usque moras,
which is stronger than the Greek.

Can Leutsch have overlooked these passages in Homer? In his article on Ovid in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopädie, he says: — "sie werde vom Ikarios zu einer neuen Heirath gegen ihren Willen angetrieben, wovon im Homer nichts steht". His explanation, however, shows a correct understanding of Ovid's method — "Das ist geschehen, um wie unglücklich Penelope sich fühlte, recht stark und deutlich zu zeigen".

Ov. H. 1, 83:

Increpet usque licet. Tua sum, tua dicar oportet.

Penelope coniunx semper Ulixis ero.

Here is where the real discrepancy between Ovid and Homer comes in, not in the conduct of Icarius but in that of Penelope herself. In Homer she is represented as hesitating, and we cannot but think that if Odysseus had only been a little later, he might have found things quite different.

Cf. Od. 19, 524:

ὥς καὶ ἐμοὶ δίχα θυμὸς ὀρώρεται ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
ἥδ' ἐμὲν παρὰ παιδὶ καὶ ἐμπεδα πάντα φυλάσσω,
vs. 528: ἣ ἤδη ἄμ' ἐπωμαι Ἀχαιῶν ὃς τις ἄριστος.

But Homer also expresses her longing for Odysseus. Cf.

Od. 19, 136:

ἀλλ' Ὀδυσῆα ποθέουσα φίλον κατατήκομαι ἦτορ
οἱ δὲ γάμον σπεύδουσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ δόλους τολυπεύω.

Always weeping for him, Od. 19, 596; 1, 363.

With Ovid's expression cf. Prop. 1, 19, 11:

Illic quicquid ero, semper tua dicar imago:

Traicit et fati littora magnus amor.

Ov. Ep. 6, 59:

*Abstrahor, Hypsipyle, sed dent modo fata recursus,
Vir tuus hinc abeo, vir tibi semper ero.*

Ov. *H.* 1, 85:

*Ille tamen pietate mea precibusque pudicis
Frangitur, et vires temperat ispe suas.*

This is a pure addition of Ovid's.

Ov. *H.* 1, 87:

*Dulichii Samiique et quos tulit alta Zacynthos,
Turba ruunt in me luxuriosa proci;
Inque tua regnant, nullis prohibentibus, aula:
Viscera nostra, tuae dilacerantur opes.*

Cf. Od. 1, 245 (and 16, 122):

ὅσσοι γὰρ νήσοισιν ἐπικρατέουσιν ἄριστοι,
Ἰουλιχίῳ τε Σάμῃ τε καὶ ὑλήεντι Ζακύνθῳ
— — — (Ithacans omitted in Ovid.)
τόσσοι μητέρ' ἐμὴν μνῶνται, τρύχουσι δὲ οἶκον.

1, 250: — τοὶ δὲ φθινύθουσιν ἔδοντες

οἶκον ἐμόν· τάχα δὴ με διαρραίσουσιν καὶ αὐτόν.

For *dilacerantur opes*, cf. Od. 14, 92 (and 16, 315):

κτῆματα δαρδάπτουσιν ὑπέρβιον, οὐδ' ἐπι φειδώ.

Ov. *H.* 1, 91:

*Quid tibi Pisandrum Polybumque Medontaque dirum
Eurymachique avidas Antinoique manus
Atque alios referam?*

Most of these are mentioned in several places in Homer.

Cf. Od. 22, 243: Πείσανδρός τε — Πόλυβός τε —

357: καὶ κήρυκα Μέδοντα σώωσομεν, ὅς τέ μιν αἰεὶ
οἶκῳ ἐν ἡμετέρῳ κηδέσκετο παιδὸς ἑόντος.

44: Εὐρύμαχος cf. 1, 399; 18, 349.

22, 49: Ἀντίνοος cf. 1, 383.

The expression 'Medontaque dirum' presents great difficulty.

How could Ovid have committed the double mistake of calling the poor herald 'dirus' and classing him among the suitors?

That 'Medon' is here used for 'Amphimedon', is an old story. (See Meziriac 1, 88.) The placing of Pisander and Polybus together just as they occur in Homer, is some argument that Ovid had Od. 22, 243 in his mind when he wrote this, and

mphimedon is mentioned in the preceding verse. Then the word 'dirum' would be used purposely to distinguish this from the true Medon. This, however, does not seem to be in Ovid's style*) and it must be confessed that no satisfactory solution of the difficulty has been reached.

Ov. H. 1, 95: Irus egens.

Cf. Ibis 417 binominis Iri.

Od. 18, 1: πτωχὸς πανδῆμιος.

6: Ἴρουν δὲ νέοι κίκλησκον ἅπαντες.

Ov. H. 1, 95 (2nd half): — pecorisque Melanthius actor agendi.

Cf. *Od. 17, 212:*

ἐνθα σφέας ἐτίχαν' υἱὸς Ἀολίοιο Μελανθεὺς
αἶγας ἄγων —
δεῖπνον μνηστῆρεσσι.

Ov. H. 1, 99:

*Ille per insidias paene est mihi nuper ademptus
Dum parat invitis omnibus ire Pylon.*

Cf. *Od. 4, 847: τὸν γε μένον λοχόωντες Ἀχαιοί.*

also 842 ff., 817 ff., 675 ff.

For *invitis omnibus* cf. 4, 665:

ἐκ τοσσῶνδ' ἀέκητι νέος παῖς οἴχεται αὐτῶς.

Ovid here changes Homer, as Loers points out. The snares were arranged for his *return*. Doubtless this is a piece of carelessness on the part of Ovid.

No inconsistency need be found in *invitis omnibus*. This could naturally refer to the suitors.

Shuckburgh, with others, objects to Telemachus being called a boy (puer) but besides the passage above cf. *Od. 16, 71:*

αὐτὸς μὲν νέος εἰμὶ καὶ οὐ πῶ χερσὶ πέποιθα.

Ov. H. 1, 102:

Ille meos oculos comprimat, ille tuos.

*) Cf. Ex P. 4, 12 on the word Tūticiānus.

Cf. Od. 24, 294:

οὐδ' ἄλοχος πολύδωρος ἐχέφρων Πηνελόπεια
κῶκυς' ἐν λεχέεσσιν ἐὼν πόσιν, ὥς ἐπεφάνειν,
ὃ φθαλμοὺς καθελοῦσα· τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ
θανόντων.

11, 424: — ἡ δὲ κυνώπις

νοσφίσσας, οὐδέ μοι ἔτλη ἰόντι περ εἰς Αἶδαο
χερσὶ κατ' ὃ φθαλμοὺς ἐλέειν σὺν τε στόμ' ἐρεῖσαι.

Eur. Med. 1033:

ἡ μὲν ποθ' ἡ δύστηνος εἶχον ἐλπίδας
πολλὰς ἐν ὕμιν γηροβοσκήσειν τ' ἐμὲ
καὶ κατθανοῦσαν χερσὶν εὖ περιστελεῖν,
ζηλωτὸν ἀνθρώποισι. Cf. Alcest. 662 ff.

Ov. Trist. 3, 3, 44 ff.; 4, 3, 44.

Ov. H. 1, 103:

*Hinc faciunt custosque boum longaevaque nutrix
Tertius immundae cura fidelis harae.*

Cf. Od. 21, 189: βονκόλος ἦδ' ἐσθλοὺς Ὀδυσσεὺς θείου
σφορβός = Εὐμαιος Od. 21, 203.

βονκόλος = Φιλοίτιος 20, 185; 21, 388.

Εὐρύκλεια, the nurse, 1, 429 and elsewhere.

Ov. H. 1, 105:

*Sed neque Laertes, ut qui sit inutilis armis,
Hostibus in mediis regna tenere potest.*

Cf. Od. 11, 187: — πατήρ δ' ἐσὶς αὐτόθι μίμνει
ἄγρῳ, οὐδ' ἐ πόλινδε κατέρχεται.

Cf. 1, 189.

Ov. H. 1, 110:

Tu citius venias, portus et aura tuis.

This is the reading of the manuscripts but Ciofanus and Heinsius read *ara* for *aura* and in this they are followed by Sedlmayer and Ehwald. To this reading there could be no objection if it had the manuscript authority. Cf. Ex P. 2, 8, 6f

Vos eritis nostrae portus et ara fugae.

Trist. 4, 5, 2:

Unica fortunis *ara* reperta meis,
Cuius ab adloquiis anima haec moribunda revixit,
Ut vigil infusa Pallade flamma solet;
Qui veritus non es *portus* aperire fideles
Fulmine percussae confugiumque rati.

Trist. 5, 6, 2:

Qui mihi *confugium*, qui mihi *portus* eras
vs. 14: Quae patuit, dextrae firma sit *ara* meae.
But the following would be an argument in favor of *aura*:
vs. 45: Intempestivos igitur compesce tumores,

Vela neque in medio desere nostra mari!

For *aura*, cf. Eur. Androm. 554:

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν καὶ οὖρον ὥσπερ ἰστίοις
ἐμπνεύσομαι τῇδ'.

For *portus*, vs. 748: — χείματος γὰρ ἀγρίου
τυχοῦσα λιμένας ἤλθες εἰς εἰηνέμους.

vs. 891: ὦ ναυτίλοισι χείματος λιμὴν φανείς
Ἀγαμέμνωνος παῖ.

With Ovid, Ruhnken compares Cic. Verr. 5, 48:

Hic locus est unus, quo perfugiant, hic portus, haec arx,
haec *ara* sociorum.

Similarly we have *ancora* Ex P. 3, 2, 6.

Of course the metaphorical use of *portus* is common enough.
Cf. Ep. 16, 26; A. A. 3, 748; Virg. Aen. 7, 598, where Conington
quotes Ennius Thyest fr. 16.

On the whole, I am inclined to think it is unnecessary to
change the Ms. reading here.

Ov. *H.* 1, 111:

*Est tibi, sitque, precor, gnatus, qui mollibus annis
In patrias artes erudiendus erat.*

Ruhnken compares Ov. Fast. 6, 219:

Est mihi, sitque, precor, nostris diuturnior annis
Filia.

For the sentiment cf. Eur. Hel. 941:

— παισὶ γὰρ κλέος τόδε
 κάλλιστον, ὅστις ἐκ πατρὸς χρηστοῦ γεγώς
 εἰς ταῦτόν ἤλθε τοῖς τεκοῦσι τοὺς τρόπους.

In Od. 19, 365 Eurycleia says before the recognition scene

οὐ γάρ πώ τις τόσσα βροτῶν Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ
 πίονα μηρὶ' ἔκη' οὐδ' ἑξαίτους ἑκατόμβας,
 ὅσσα σὺ τῇ ἐδίδους ἀρώμενος, εἶος ἱκοιο
 γῆρας τε λιπαρὸν θρήψαιό τε φαίδιμον νιόν.

Ov. H. 1, 113: *Respice Laerten ut iam sua lumina condas*
 cf. Hor. O. 1, 15, 21:

Non Laertiaden, exitium tuae
 Gentis, non Pylum Nestora respicis?

Eur. Hecuba 430:

ξῆ καὶ θανοῦσης ὄμμα συγκλήσει τὸ σόν.

Ov. Trist. 3, 3, 43: — *nec cum clamore supremo*
Labentis oculos condet amica manus.

Ov. H. 1, 115:

Certe ego, quae fueram te discedente puella,
Protinus ut venias, facta videbor anus.

In Od. 19, 124, Penelope disclaims the possession of beauty:

ξεῖν', ἣ τοι μὲν ἐμὴν ἀρετὴν, εἰδός τε δέμας τε,
 ᾗλεσαν ἀθάνατοι, ὅτε Ἴλιον εἰσανέβαινον
 Ἀργεῖοι,

but nowhere does she call herself an old woman. Cf. rather
 Prop. 2, 9, 7:

Illum expectando facta remansit anus.

4, 25, 16:

Et quae fecisti facta queraris anus
 Notice position of *facta anus*.

Cf. Ex P. 1, 4, 47:

Te quoque, quam iuvenem discedens Urbe reliqui,
Credibile est nostris insenuisse malis.

Summary to Ep. 1.

In substance Ovid usually follows the statement of Homer
 but does not hesitate to put things in a different light or even

to change the facts when it suits his purpose. For differences between Ovid and Homer notice especially the following: vs. 5, adulter; 7, frigida; 9, winding-sheet ruse; 15, Hector and Antilochus; 31, drawing or writing with wine on the table, not Homeric; 33, Sigeum; 36, terruit Hector equos; 37, omnia retulerat Nestor; 51, *Uni mihi Pergama*, (sounds Ovidian); 53, *iam seges est ubi Troia fuit*, (probably post-Homeric); 54 *sanguine pinguis* (not Hm.); 61, *tradita charta*; 63, *nos misimus*; 65, Mene-laüs' story omitted; 75, *quae vestra libido est*; 77, *rustica*; 83, *increpet usque licet*; 85, *Ille precibus frangitur*; 87, *Ithacans* omitted; 91, *Medon*; 99, *insidias, dum parat ire*; 110, *portus et aura* (not Hm.); 115, *ego facta videbor anus*.

Some of the discrepancies are to be regarded as slips of memory. If Ovid consulted Homer at all while writing this, he does not seem to have exercised much care. There is scarcely a line which corresponds closely enough to Homer to show imitation. The best example is vs. 87:

Dulichii Samique et quos tulit alta Zacynthos.

We are not surprised to find an occasional resemblance to some one of the Roman poets with whose works Ovid was especially familiar; cf. vs. 1, *lento*; 75, *quae vestra libido est*; 116, *facta videbor anus* (Prop.); 19, *tepefecerat*; 54, *sanguine pinguis* (Hor., Virg.); 30, *Narrantis coniunx pendet ab ore viri*; 48, *Ilios et murus quod fuit, esse solum* (Virg.).

These resemblances, however, are confined to short phrases. There is no trace of intentional imitation of any single poem.

Epistle 3.* (Briseis.)

Here we are referred to the *Iliad* by Ovid himself, who, in speaking of the *Iliad*, says, *Trist. 2, 373*:

*Quid prius est illi flamma Briseidos utque
Fecerit iratos rapta puella duces?*

*) This letter is treated at length by Tolkiehn, pp. 48—66.

Ov. H. 3, 3:

Quascumque aspicias, lacrimae fecere lituras.

Cf. Ep. 15, 98:

Adspice, quam sit in hoc multa litura loco.

Trist. 3, 1, 15:

Littera suffusas quod habet maculosa lituras,

Laesit opus lacrimis ipse poeta suum.

Trist. 1, 1, 13: Neve liturarum pudeat. qui viderit illas,

De lacrimis factas sentiet esse meis.

With these cf. Prop. 5, 3, 3:

Si qua tamen tibi lecturo pars oblita derit,

Haec erit a lacrimis facta litura meis. (Zingerle.)

Kalkman, de Hipp. Eurip. p. 100, compares Chariton 4, 4 (Hercher, 2, 78): *Χαιρέας — ἤθελε γράφειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδύνατο δακρύων ἐπιρρεόντων καὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ τρεμούσης.* Kalkman thus argues for an Alexandrian source for these expressions of Ovid and Propertius.

Ov. H. 3, 4 cf. Ex P. 3, 1, 158. (Tolkiehn.)

Ov. H. 3, 7:

Non, ego poscenti quod sum cito tradita regi,

Culpa tua est quamvis haec quoque culpa tua est.

This looks a little like Cat. 67, 9:

Non —

Culpa meast quamquam dicitur esse mea. (Zingerle.)

Ov. H. 3, 9:

Nam simul Eurybates me Talthybiusque vocarunt,

Eurybati data sum Talthybioque comes.

Cf. Il. 9, 320 (of Agamemnon):

ἀλλ' ὃ γε Ταλθύβιον τε καὶ Εὐρυβάτην προσέειπεν.

vs. 322: ἔρχεσθον κλισίην Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος

χειρὸς ἐλόντ' ἀγέμεν Βρισηίδα καλλιπάρηον.

For data sum

cf. vs. 337 (Achilles speaks):

ἀλλ' ἄγε, Διογενὲς Πατρόκλεες, ἔξαγε κόρην

καὶ σφωιν δὸς ἄγειν.

Ov. H. 3, 11:

*Alter in alterius iactantes lumina voltum
Quaerebant taciti, noster ubi esset amor.*

This is a neat addition of Ovid's.

Ov. H. 3, 13:

Differri potui. poenae mora grata fuisset.

Cf. Ep. 7, 178 (and note): — *tempora parva peto.*

Ov. H. 3, 15:

At lacrimas sine fine dedi, rupique capillos:

Infelix iterum sum mihi visa capi.

Saepe ego decepto volui custode reverti etc.

Ovid gets all this by expanding the single word ἀέκονσα,

Il. 1, 346:

ἐκ δ' ἄγαγεν κλισίης Βρισηίδα καλλιπάρηρον,
δῶκε δ' ἄγειν· τὼ δ' αὖτις ἔτην παρὰ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
ἣ δ' ἀέκουσ' ἄμα τοῖσι γυνὴ κίεν.

Ov. H. 3, 23:

Ipse Menoetiaes tum, cum tradebar, in aurem

'Quid fles? hic parvo tempore' dixit 'eris'.

This is added by Ovid but is quite consistent with the character given to Patroclus by Homer. Cf. Il. 19, 282:

Βρισηῖς δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτ', ἐκέλη χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην,
ὥς ἶδε Πάτροκλον δεδαῖγμένον ὅξει χαλκῷ,
ἄμφ' αὐτῷ χυμένη λίγ' ἐκώκυε, χερσὶ δ' ἄμυσσεν
στήθεά τ' ἥδ' ἀπαλὴν δειρὴν ἰδὲ καλὰ πρόσωπα,
εἶπε δ' ἄρα κλαίουσα γυνὴ ἔκνυα θεῆσιν.

vs. 295: οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδέ μ' ἔασκες, ὅτ' ἄνδρ' ἐμὸν ὦκνς Ἀχιλλεύς

ἔκτεινεν, πέρσεν δὲ πόλιν θεῖοιο Μύνητος,
κλαίμεν, ἀλλὰ μ' ἔφασκες Ἀχιλλῆος θεῖοιο
κουριδίην ἄλοχον θήσειν, ἄξειν τ' ἐνὶ νηυσὶν
ἐς Φθίην, δαίσειν δὲ γάμον μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσιν.
τῷ σ' ἄμοτον κλαίω τεθνηότα μείλιχον αἰεῖ.

Ov. H. 3, 26:

I nunc, et cupidi nomen amantis habe.

For the expression *i nunc* cf. Ep. 4, 127; 9, 105; 12, 204 etc.
Prop. 3, 27, 22:

I nunc et noctes disce manere domi.

Cf. Prop. 4, 17, 17; and the collection of Jahn on Persius IV 19
to which add Martial I 42, 6 c. nott. interprett.

Ov. H. 3, 27:

*Venerunt ad te Telamone et Amyntore nati,
Ille gradu propior sanguinis, ille comes,
Laërtaque satus, per quos comitata redirem.*

Cf. Il. 9, 168:

*Φοῖνιξ μὲν πρῶτιστα δῖος φίλος ἡγησάσθω,
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' Αἴας τε μέγας καὶ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.*

Cf. *Ov. vs. 129* below:

*Plus ego quam Phoenix, plus quam facundus Ulixes,
Plus ego quam Teuceri, credite, frater agam.*

Ov. H. 3, 30:

*Auxerunt blandae grandia dona preces,
Viginti fulvos operoso ex aere lebetas,
Et tripodas septem pondere et arte pares;
Addita sunt illis auri bis quinque talenta,
Bis sex adsueti vincere semper equi,
Quodque supervacuum est forma praestante puellae.
Lesbides, eversa corpora capta domo.
Cumque tot his – sed non opus est tibi coniuge – coniunx
Ex Agamemnoniis una puella tribus.*

This is little more than a translation of *Hm. Il. 9, 264*:

*ἔπειτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα
αἰθωνας δὲ λέβητας εἴκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους
πηγὸς ἀθλοφόρους, οἳ ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄρουντο.*

*vs. 270: δώσει δ' ἑπτὰ γυναῖκας, ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας,
Λεσβίδας, αἷς, ὅτε Λέσβον ἐκτιμένην ἔλες αὐτός,
ἔξέλεθ', αἱ τότε κάλλει ἐνίκων φύλα γυναικῶν.*

*vs. 286: τρεῖς δὲ οἱ εἰσὶ θύγατρες ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ ἐνπίκτω,
Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα·
τάων ἦν κ' ἐθέλῃσθαι φίλην ἀνέδνον ἄγεσθαι
πρὸς οἶκον Πηλῆος.*

(This may as well have been taken from Il. 9, 122 ff., but not from 19, 243 for there the word Lesbian does not occur.)

Ov. H. 3, 43:

An miseros tristis fortuna tenaciter urget?

Cf. Il. 19, 290: — ὥς μοι δέχεται κακὸν ἐκ κακοῦ αἰεί.

This, I am inclined to think, suggested the idea to Ovid here, though he must have been familiar with it from other sources.

Cf. Eur. Iph. T. 203:

ἔξ ἀρχᾶς μοι δυσδαίμων
δαίμων τὰς ματρὸς ζώνας
καὶ νυκτὸς κείνας · ἔξ ἀρχᾶς
λόχραι στεργρὰν παιδείαν
Μοῖραν συντείνουσιν θεαί · κτλ.

Of the various passages in Ovid, see especially Ep. 7, 111 (and note):

Durat in extremum, vitaeque novissima nostrae
Prosequitur fati qui fuit ante tenor.

Ov. H. 3, 44:

Nec venit inceptis mollior hora meis?

Cf. Ex P. 3, 3, 84: Et veniet votis mollior hora tuis.

Prop. 3, 24, 16:

Extremo veniet mollior hora die.

Ov. H. 3, 45:

Diruta Marte tuo Lyrnesia moenia vidi.

Cf. Il. 2, 690:

τὴν ἐκ Αὐρνησοῦ ἐξείλετο πολλὰ μογήσας,
Αὐρνησσὸν διαπορθήσας καὶ τείχεα Θήβης
καὶ δὲ Μύνητα βάλεν · κτλ.

Met. 12, 108:

Nam certe valui, vel cum Lyrnesia primus
Moenia deieci. Cf. Met. 13, 176.

Ov. H. 3, 46:

Et fueram patriae pars ego magna meae.

Cf. Trist. 2, 58:

Parsque fui turbæ parva precantis idem.

Trist. 2, 158; 4, 2, 16; 5, 3, 6; 5, 3, 52; Ex P. 1, 7, 16; 1, 8, 2; 4, 9, 6.

Virg. Aen. 2, 5: — quaeque ipse miserrima vidi,
Et quorum pars magna fui. (Zingerle.)

Ov. H. 3, 47:

*Vidi consortes pariter generisque necisque
Tres cecidisse. tribus, quae mihi, mater erat.
Vidi quantus erat, fusum tellure cruenta,
Pectora iactantem sanguinolenta virum.*

Cf. Il. 19, 291:

ἄνδρα μὲν, ᾧ ἔδοσάν με πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ,
εἶδον πρὸ πτόλιος δεδαῦγμένον ὄξει χαλκῷ,
τρῆς τε κασιγνήτους, τοὺς μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ
κηδείους, οἳ πάντες δλέθριον ἦμαρ ἐπέσπον.

For the expression *quantus erat*, Palmer compares *κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί* (Il. 16, 776).

Ov. H. 3, 51:

*Tot tamen amissis te compensavimus unum:
Tu dominus, tu vir, tu mihi frater eras.*

Cf. Il. 6, 429: — ἀτὰρ σύ μοι ἔσσι πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
ἡδὲ κασιγνήτος, σὺ δέ μοι θαλερός παρακοίτης. (Zingerle.)

It is very doubtful, however, if Ovid goes back directly to Homer here, for this quotation does not belong to our story. Besides, Ovid must have met similar expressions in several later writers. Cf. Prop. 1, 11, 23:

Tu mihi sola domus, tu, Cynthia, sola parentes. (Zingerle.)

Eur. Alcest. 646:

γυναῖκ' ὀθνεῖαν, ἣν ἐγὼ καὶ μητέρα
πατέρα τ' ἄν ἐνδίκως ἄν ἡγοίμην ἐμοί.

Eur. Orest. 732: — φίλταθ' ἡλίκων ἐμοὶ
καὶ φίλων καὶ συγγενείας· πάντα γὰρ τάδ' εἰ σύ μοι.

No doubt the idea was common among the Alexandrians.

Cf. Ap. Rh. 4, 368:

— τῷ φημὶ τεῇ κόρῃ τε δάμαρ τε
αὐτοκασιγνήτη τε μεθ' Ἑλλάδα γαῖαν ἐπεσθαι.

Eustath. *Macrem.* 6, 8, 1:

σύ μοι πατρίς καὶ πατήρ καὶ μήτηρ καὶ παστάς
καὶ νυμφίος καὶ δεσπότης ἐξ ἔρωτος.

Ov. H. 3, 53:

*Tu mihi, iuratus per numina matris aquosae,
Utile dicebas ipse fuisse capi.*

An addition of Ovid's.

Cf. *Met.* 8, 56: — *quamvis saepe utile vinci*

Victoris placidi fecit clementia multis.

Fast. 3, 464: *Utiliter nobis perfidus ille fuit.*

For the custom of swearing by divine ancestors, see *Ep.* 12, 78 and note.

Ov. H. 3, 55:

*Scilicet ut, quamvis veniam dotata, repellas,
Et mecum fugias quae tibi dantur, opes.*

Cf. *vs.* 25:

Non repetisse parum, pugnās ne reddar, Achille.

vs. 39:

*Si tibi ab Atride pretio redimenda fuissem,
Quae dare debueras, accipere illa negas?*

With these cf. *Il.* 9, 378:

ἐχθρὰ δέ μοι τοῦ δῶρα, τίω δέ μιν ἐν καρὸς αἴσῃ.
οὐδ' εἴ μοι δεκάκις καὶ εἰκοσάκις τόσα δοίῃ,
ὅσσα τέ οἱ νῦν ἔστι, καὶ εἴ ποθεν ἄλλα γένοιτο,
οὐδ' ὅσ' ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ποτινίσσεται, οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας
Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοισ' ἐν κτήματα κεῖται,

vs. 385: οὐδ' εἴ μοι τόσα δοίῃ ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κένις τε,
οὐδέ κεν ὥς ἐτι θυμὸν ἐμὸν πείσει' Ἀγαμέμνων κτλ.

Ov. H. 3, 57.

*Quin etiam fama est, cum crastina fulserit eos,
Te dare nubiferis linteā plena* notis.*

* *plena* is the reading of Heins, followed by Sedlmayer. The Puteaneus gives *vela*. Merkel reads *vella*.

Cf. Il. 9, 357:

αὔριον ἰρὰ Λυὶ ῥέξας καὶ πᾶσι θεοῖσιν,
νηήσας ἐν νῆας ἐπὴν ἄλαδε προερύσσω,
ὄψεται, ἣν ἐθέλησθα καὶ αἶ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήλη,
ἦρι μάλ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα πλεούσας
νῆας ἐμάς, ἐν δ' ἄνδρας ἐρεσσέμεναι μεμαῶτας.

Cf. vs. 682:

αὐτὸς δ' ἠπείλησεν ἄμ' ἧοὶ φαινομένην
νῆας ἐυσσέλμους ἄλαδ' ἐλκόμεν ἄμφιελίσσας,

Ov. H. 3, 61: — Cui me, violente, relinquis?

Cf. Virg. Aen. 4, 323: — *Cui me moribundam deseris, hospes?*

Ov. H. 3, 63:

*Devorer ante, precor, subito telluris hiatu,
Aut rutilo missi fulminis igne cremar.*

Cf. Virg. Aen. 4, 24:

*Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,
Vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
Pallentes umbras Erebi, noctemque profundam. (Loers.)*

Il. 4, 182: — *τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών.*

The phrase recurs Il. 8, 150; 6, 281; 17, 416.

For the lightening, cf. Il. 15, 117:

εἴπερ μοι καὶ μοῖρα Διὸς πληγέντι κεραυνῷ
κεῖσθαι ὁμοῦ νεκύεσσι μεθ' αἵματι καὶ κονίησιν.

Ov. H. 3, 67:

Si tibi iam reditusque placent patriique penates.

Ebert, *Der Anachronismus in Ovids Metamorphosen*, p. 23, says that the mention of the Penates here is an anachronism. This was a Roman custom, not Greek. It seems, however, that the expression is easily defensible on the ground that it here means nothing but 'home', 'fireside'.

Ov. H. 3, 68:

Non ego sum classi 'sarcina magna tuae.

Cf. Trist. 1, 3, 84:

Accedam profugae sarcina parva rati.

ΕΡΕΙΔΕΙΣ

Chariton 3, 5, 5:

μή με ἐνταῦθα καταλίπης ἔρημον, ἀλλ' ἐμβαλοῦ
τρῆρει φορτίον κοῦφον.

Ov. *H.* 3, 69:

Victorem captivā sequar, non nupta maritum.

In *Il.* 9, 342 Achilles says: ὥς καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν

ἐκ θυμοῦ φίλεον, δουρικτήτην περ ἐοῦσαν.

Cf. Hor. *O.* 2, 4, 2: — prius insolentem

Serva Briseis niveo colore

Movit Achillem.

For a similar thought in a different connection, cf. *Il.* 3, 408:

ἀλλ' αἰεὶ περὶ κείνον δίζυε καὶ ἐ φύλασσε,

εἰς ὃ κε σ' ἢ ἄλοχον ποιήσεται ἢ ὃ γε δοῦλην.

Cf. Cat. 64, 160:

At tamen in vestras potuisti ducere sedes,

Quae tibi iucundo famularer serva labore,

Candida permulcens liquidis vestigia lymphis

Purpureave tuum consternens veste cubile.

Eur. fr. 133, Nauck (*Andromeda*):

ἄγον δέ μ', ὦ ξέν', εἴτε πρίσπολον θέλεις

εἴτ' ἄλοχον εἴτε δμῳδ' —

Ov. *H.* 3, 70: Cf. *Ep.* 14, 66.

Ov. *H.* 3, 71:

Inter Achaeiadas longe pulcherrima matres

In thalamos coniunx ibit eatque tuos,

Digna nurus socero, Jovis Aeginaeque nepote,

Cuique senex Nereus prosocer esse velit.

This seems to have been suggested by *Hm.* *Il.* 9, 394
(Achilles speaks):

Πηλεὺς θῆν μοι ἔπειτα γυναῖκα γαμέσσεται αὐτός.

πολλαὶ Ἀχαιίδες εἰσὶν ἄν' Ἑλλάδα τε Φθίην τε,

κοῦραι ἀριστήων, οἳ τε πτολίεθρα ῥύονται·

τάων ἦν κ' ἐθέλωμι φίλην ποιήσομ' ἄκοιτιν κτλ.

For the genealogy, cf. *Il.* 21, 189:

Πηλεὺς Αἰακίδης· ὃ δ' ἄρ' Αἰακὸς ἐκ Διὸς ἦεν.

Aegina is mentioned Hm. Hymn. 1, 31: νῆσός τ' Αἰγίνης.
Nereus, Hm. Hymn. 2, 141: Νηρῆος θυγάτηρ Θέτις.
 Cf. Il. 18, 141; Od. 24, 58: ἄλιον γέροντος.
 Cf. Hes. Theog. 233, and for *Aeacus*, Hes. Theog. 1005.
 Pind. Nem. 8, 10. Apollodorus 3, 12, 6 gives the genealogy.

Ov. H. 3, 77:

*Exagitet ne me tantum tua, deprecor, uxor,
 Quae mihi nescio quo non erit aequi modo,
 Neve meos coram scindi putiare capillos —*

Cf. Prop. 4, 14, 13:

*A! quotiens pulchros ussit regina capillos,
 Molliaque inmittens fixit in ora manus!
 A! quotiens famulam pensis oneravit iniquis,
 Et caput in dura ponere iussit humo!*

Cf. Ep. 20, 81:

Ipsa meos scindas licet imperiosa capillos.

Ov. H. 3, 83:

*Quid tamen expectas? Agamemnoni paenitet irae,
 Et iacet ante tuos Graecia maesta pedes.*

Cf. Il. 9, 515:

*εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ δῶρα φέροι, τὰ δ' ὀπισθ' ὀνομάζοι
 Ἀτρεΐδης, ἀλλ' αἰὲν ἐπιζαφελῶς χαλεπαίνοι,
 οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ γέ σε μῆνιν ἀπορρίψαντα κελοίμην
 Ἀργεΐοισιν ἀμυνέμεναι, χατέουσί περ ἔμπηγς.*

Ov. H. 3, 85:

Vince aximos iramque tuam, qui cetera vincis.

Cf. Met. 13, 384:

*Hectora qui solus, qui ferrum ignemque Iovemque
 Sustinuit totiens, unam non sustinet iram.*

Il. 9, 496: ἀλλ' Ἀχιλεῦ, δάμασον θυμὸν μέγαν.

vs. 259: — ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν

*πανεύ', ἔα δὲ χόλον θυμαλγέα· σοὶ δ' Ἀγαμέμνων
 ἄξια δῶρα δίδωσι μεταλλήξαντι χόλοι.*

Hor. O. 1, 16, 22: Compesce mentem etc.

Cf. Ov. Ep. 11, 15.



Ov. H. 3, 89:

Propter me mota est, propter me desinat ira.

For the wrath and its cause see *Il. 1*, especially vs. 184, where Agamemnon says:

— ἐγὼ δέ κ' ἄγω Βρισηίδα καλλιπάρηον
αὐτὸς ἰὼν κλισίηνδε, τὸ σὸν γέρας, ὄφρ' ἐν εἰδῇς
ὅσσον φέρτερός εἰμι σέθεν, στυγῇ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος
ἴσον ἐμοὶ φάσθαι καὶ ὁμοιωθῆμεναι ἄντην.
ὥς φάτο· Πηλεΐωνι δ' ἄχος γένετ', ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ
στήθεσσιν λασίοισιν διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν κτλ.

Ov. H. 3, 91:

Nec tibi turpe puta precibus succumbere nostris.

Coniugis Ōenides versus in arma prece est.

Res audita mihi, nota est tibi.

Cf. Il. 9, 424:

οὕτω καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπευθόμεθα κλέε' ἀνδρῶν
ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν τιν' ἐπιζάφελος χόλος ἴκοι·
δωρητοὶ τ' ἐπέλοντο παράρρητοί τε ἔπεισιν.
μέμνημαι τόδε ἔργον ἐγὼ πάλαι, οὗ τι νέον γε,
ὥς ἔεν· ἐν δ' ὕμνῳ ἐρέω πάντεσσι φίλοισιν.

The story of Meleager continues through vs. 599.

Ov. H. 3, 93: — fratribus orbu

Devovit nati spemque caputque parens.

Cf. Il. 9, 564:

ἔξ ἀρσῶν μητρὸς κεχολωμένος, ἧ ῥα θεοῖσιν
πόλλ' ἀχέουσ' ἡρᾶτο κασιγνήτοιο φόνοιο,

vs. 571: παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον.

Ov. H. 3, 95: Bellum erat.

Cf. Il. 9, 529:

Κουρήτες τ' ἐμάχοντο καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μενεχάρμαι.

Ov. H. 3, 95 (2nd part): Ille ferox positus secessit ab armis,

Et patriae rigida mente negavit opem.

Cf. Il. 9, 555:

ἦ τοι ὃ μητρὶ φίλῃ Ἀλθαΐῃ χαώμενος κῆρ
κεῖτο παρὰ μνηστῆ ἀλόχῳ, καλῇ Κλεοπάτρῃ.

- vs. 574: — τὸν δὲ λίσσοντο γέροντες
 Αἰτωλῶν, πέμπτον δὲ θεῶν ἱερῆας ἀρίστους,
 ἐξελεῖν καὶ ἀμῦναι, ὑποσχόμενοι μέγα δῶρον.
 vs. 581: πολλὰ δὲ μιν λιτάνευε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Οἰνεύς.
 vs. 574: πολλὰ δὲ τὸν γε κασίγνηται καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
 ἐλλίσσονθ'. ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον ἀναίνετο· πολλὰ δ' ἔταῖροι,
 587: ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς τοῦ θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσιν ἔπειθον.

Ov. H. 3, 97: Sola virum coniunx flexit.

Il. 9, 590:

- καὶ τότε δὴ Μελέαγρον ἐύζωνος παράκοιτις
 λίσσεται ὀδυρομένη, καὶ οἱ κατέλεξεν ἅπαντα.
 595: τοῦ δ' ὠρίνετο θυμὸς ἀκούοντος κακὰ ἔργα,
 βῆ δ' ἵνα, χροὶ δ' ἔντε' ἐδόσσετο παμφανόωντα.

Ov. H. 3, 107:

Perque tuum nostrumque caput, quae iunximus una.

Cf. Trist. 5, 4, 45:

Per caput ipse suum solitus iurare tuumque.

Ex P. 3, 3, 68:

Per matrem iuro Caesareumque caput.

Tib. 1, 5, 7:

*Parce tamen, per te furtivi foedera lecti,
 Per Venerem quaeso conpositumque caput.*

Terpstra compares Virg. Aen. 9, 300: Per caput hoc iuro.

Meziriac gives Eur. Helen [835]:

ἀλλ' ἄγνόν ὄρκον σὸν κάρα κατώμοσα.

Ov. H. 3, 109:

*Nulla Mycenaeum sociasse cubilia mecum
 Iuro.*

This of course refers to the oath of Agamemnon. *Cf. Il. 19, 258 ff. (or 9, 274 ff.); Ov. Rem. 783 f.*

Ov. H. 3, 113:

At Danaï maerere putant. Tibi plectra moventur.

Cf. Il. 9, 186:

τὸν δ' εὖρον φρένα τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι λιγείη.

Contrast Eur. Alcest. 345 (Admetus speaks):

οὐ γάρ ποτ' οὐτ' ἄν βαρβίτου θίγοιμ' ἔτι
οὐτ' ἄν φρέν' ἑξαίροιμι πρὸς Αἴβυν λακεῖν
αὐλόν.

vs. 430: αὐλῶν δὲ μὴ κατ' ἄστν, μὴ λύρας κτύπος
ἔστω σελ' νας δώδεκ' ἐκπληρουμένας.

Ov. H. 3, 114:

Te tenet in tepido mollis amica sinu.

Cf. Il. 9, 663:

αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς εὐδε μυχᾷ κλισίης ἐνπύκτω·
τῷ δ' ἄρα παρατέλεκτο γυνή· τὴν Λεσβόθεν ἦγεν.

Ov. H. 3, 116:

*Pugna nocet. Citharae noxque Venusque iuvant.
Tutius est iacuisse toro etc.*

Cf. Am. 2, 11, 31.

Il. 9, 607: — οὐ τι με ταύτης

χρεὼ τιμῆς.

398: ἔνθα δέ μοι μάλα πολλὸν ἐπέσσοντο θυμὸς ἀγύνωρ
γήμεντι μνηστὴν ἄλοχον, ἐκνύταν ἄκοιτιν,
κτῆμασι τέρπεσθαι τὰ γέρων ἐκτίησατο Πηλεὺς·
οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ψυχῆς ἀντάξιον οὐδ' ὅσα φασὶν κτλ.

Cf. Virg. Aen. 9, 775: — Cui carmina semper,
Et citharae cordi numerosque intendere nervis.

Hor. O. 1, 15, 13 (on Paris):

Nequiquam Veneris praesidio ferox
Pectus caesariem grataque feminis
Inbelli cithara carmina divides etc.

Ov. H. 3, 118:

Threïciam digitis increpuisse lyram.

Cf. A. A. 1, 11 (Chiron):

Phillyrides puerum cithara perfecit Achillem.

Trist. 4, 1, 15. Priap. 68, 15.

Ov. H. 3, 131: *Est aliquid.*

Cf. Trist. 5, 1, 59; 1, 2, 53. Ex P. 2, 7, 65; 2, 10, 39;

3, 4, 18. Fast. 1, 484; 6, 27.

Trist. 4, 6, 29: Est quoque non nihilum.

Ov. *H.* 3, 133:

*Sis licet immitis. matrisque ferocior undis,
Ut taceam, lacrimis comminuere meis.*

Washietl compares Il. 16, 34:

— *γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα,
πέτραι δ' ἡλίβατοι, ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής.*

Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3, 580: *Asperior quovis aequore frater erat.*

Ep. 8, 9; 11, 9; 15, 189.

With these cf. *Prop.* 1, 16, 29:

*Sit licet et saxo patientior illa Sicano,
Sit licet et ferro durior et chalybe,
Non tamen illa suos poterit conpescere ocellos:
Surget et invitis spiritus in lacrimis.*

Hor. *O.* 3, 7, 21; *Epod.* 17, 53; *Tib.* 1, 1, 63.

See notes on *Ep.* 1, 58 (*ferreus*) and 7, 37.

Ov. *H.* 3, 136: *Sic eat auspiciis Pyrrhus ad arma tuis.*

The name *Pyrrhus* does not occur in *Hm.* but *Neoptolemus* is mentioned or referred to several times. Perhaps Ovid was thinking of Il. 19, 321 ff. Cf. *Od.* 11, 505 ff., 492 ff.

Ov. *H.* 3, 140:

Quam sine te cogis vivere, coge mori.

Cf. *Virg.* *Ecl.* 2, 6:

*O crudelis Alexi; nihil mea carmina curas?
Nil nostri miserere? Mori me denique coges.*

But this is in a different vein.

Cf. *Ap.* *Rh.* 370:

*πάντη νῦν πρόφρων ὑπερίστασο, μὴ δέ με μούνην
σεῖο λίπης ἀπάνευθεν —*

vs. 373: — *ἦ σὺγ' ἔπειτα*

φασγάνῳ ἀντίκα τόνδε μέσον δια λαιμὸν ἀμῆσαι.

Ov. *H.* 3, 144:

Nec tibi magnificum femina iussa mori.

Cf. *Virg.* *Aen.* 2, 583: *Namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen*

Feminea in poena est nec habet victoria laudem.

Ov. H. 3, 147:

*Me petat ille tuus, qui, si dea passa fuisset,
Ensis in Atridae pectus iturus erat.*

Cf. Met. 13, 444:

Quo ferus iniusto petiit Agamemnona ferro.

Il. 1, 193 is referred to:

*ἥος ὁ ταῦθ' ὤρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,
ἔλκετο δ' ἐκ κολεοῦ μέγα ξίφος, ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη κτλ.*

Ov. H. 3, 151: Neptunia — Pergama.

Cf. Fast. 1, 525 and see note on Ep. 1, 67.

Ov. H. 3, 153:

*Me modo, sive paras impellere remige classem,
Sive manes, domini iure venire iube.*

Cf. Ep. 20, 79:

*Ignoras tua iura. voca. cur arguor absens?
Iamdudum dominae more venire iube.*

Summary to Ep. 3.

There can be no doubt that the author had the ninth book of the *Iliad* before his eyes when he was writing this epistle. See especially the following verses:

- 9 Eurybates and Talthybius;
- 27 Phoenix, Ajax and Odysseus;
- 30 grandia dona;
- 48 tribus, quae mihi, mater erat.
- 58 te dare nubiferis;
- 71 Inter Achaeiadas;
- 85 vince animos;
- 113 plectra moventur;
- 148 ensis.

And above all 71 ff., containing the story of Meleager.

In no other letter can we trace Ovid's sources so satisfactorily. The difference in method between this and the first

epistle, is striking.* There we found inaccuracies and intentional changes; here the author usually follows the original closely and contents himself with a few minor additions and expansions,** not inconsistent with the characters handed down.

There is comparatively little that suggests other poets than Homer. Some of the examples usually given, e. g. vs. 133, are mere commonplaces***.

Epistle 7 (Dido).

That the Dido episode in Virgil's *Aeneid* was a favorite part of the poem very soon after its publication, is to be gathered from *Ov. Trist.* 2, 533:

Et tamen ille tuae felix Aeneidos auctor
 Contulit in Tyrios arma virumque toros,
Nec legitur pars ulla magis de corpore toto
Quam non legitimo foedere iunctus amor.

The very fame of the piece would lead us at once to the conclusion that the sources of Ovid here are to be sought in Virgil.

There are some other passages which show Ovid's appreciation of Virgil.

Am. 1, 15, 25:

Tityrus et fruges Aeneiaque arma legentur,
 Roma triumphati dum caput orbis erit.

* This difference may be explained, at least in part, by the difference in the subjects. The first letter had to deal with the whole *Odyssey*, while in the third only a single episode of the *Iliad* is taken up. In the latter case, the details naturally correspond more closely to the original.

** For additions, see vs. 12 *Quaerebant taciti*; 23 *Menoetiades* -- in aurem; 54 *Utile dicebas* -- Expansions or changes: 15 *ἀέχουσα*; 109 *Mycenaeum*; 136 *Pyrrhus*.

*** Propertius is suggested by vs. 3, *lituras*; 44 *mollior hora*; 77 *exagitet ne me*; Virgil, by 46 *pars magna*; 51 *cui me relinquis*; 68 *devorer ante precor*; 144 *Nec tibi magnificum femina iussa mori*. Perhaps 69, *captiva non nupta*, goes back to Catullus.

A. A. 3, 337:

Et profugum Aenean, altae primordia Romae,
Quo nullum Latium clarius extat opus.

Rem. 395:

Tantum se nobis elegi debere fatentur,
Quantum Vergilio nobile debet opus.

It would be interesting, if not useful to our purpose, to know the sources of Virgil's Dido. He certainly did not create the whole story. He found something on Dido and Anna in Naevius (See Serv. on Virg. Aen. 4, 9). It is probable, however, that he found only the outline. Servius on Virg. Aen. 4, 1 says: "Apollonius Argonautica scripsit et in tertio inducit amantem Medeam: unde totus hic liber translatus est". This, of course, is an exaggeration but it would indicate that Virgil did not get much from other Latin poets.

Rohde, Gr. Roman p. 40, says that Dido and Aeneas first appear in Timaeus 23 (Westerm. *παράδοξοι* 215) and that Timaeus is the source of Justin 18, 3—6.

The Hypsipyle episode in Apollonius bears some resemblance to the Dido Episode in Virgil.

We shall find several points of resemblance between this epistle and the second. This merely suggests the possibility that the story of Phyllis and Demophoon, which was told by Callimachus,* furnished Virgil, as well as Ovid, with several points.

Ov. H. 7, 1:

*Sic ubi fata vocant, udis abiectus in herbis
Ad vada Maeandri concinit albus olor.*

Washietl, De similitud. Ovid. p. 57, is inclined to look for the source of this to Lucr. 4, 545:

Et cyeni tortis convallibus ex Heliconis
Cum liquidam tollunt lugubri voce querellam;
(Reading uncertain)

* Cf. Cal. fr. 505 Schn.

Νύμφε Δημοφών ἄδικε ξένε.

Perhaps this story belonged to the *Αἴτια*, as Birt thinks. (See Rh. M. 32, 898 n. 4.)

but it seems to me that any attempt to fix upon a definite source for such a wide-spread myth, must be futile. No doubt Ovid had read it in many books and I believe he himself would have found it impossible to state where he saw it first.

Cf. Plat. Phaed. 84 e:

καί, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν κύκνων δοκῶ φανυλότερος ὑμῖν εἶναι τὴν μαντικὴν, οἳ ἐπειδὰν αἰσθάνονται ὅτι δεῖ αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν, ἄδοντες καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ, τότε δὴ πλεῖστα καὶ μάλιστα ἄδουσι, γεγηθότες ὅτι μέλλουσι παρὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀπιέναι, οὐτέρῳ εἰσι θεράποντες, κτλ.

Cf. Cic. Top. 1, 73.

Aristotle, Hist. An. 9, 12: ὠδικοὶ δέ, καὶ περὶ τὰς τελευτὰς μάλιστα ἄδουσιν. ἀναπέτονται γὰρ καὶ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, καὶ τινες ἤδη πλέοντες παρὰ τὴν λιβύην περιέτυχον ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ πολλοὺς ἄδουσι φωνῇ γοῶδει, καὶ τούτων ἐώρων ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐνίους.

Athenaeus, 9, 393d quotes Aristotle and adds: ὁ δὲ Μύνδιός φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος πολλοὺς τελευτῶσι παρακολουθήσας, οὐκ ἀκοῦσαι ἄδόντων. Cf. Ael. V. H. 1, 14; De nat. An. 2, 32; 5, 34; 10, 36. Athenaeus, l. c., quotes Boios on the transformation of Cygnus. The two myths are connected. Cf. Ov. Met. 2, 367 ff. According to Lactantius, this goes back to Phanocles in the *Ἑρωτες*. (See Bach's edition of the fragments p. 205.)

Cf. Virg. Aen. 10, 189 ff. In Met. 12, 144 Achilles slays Cygnus who is then transformed into the bird.

Other references to the swan-song: Met. 5, 386; 14, 428; Fast. 2, 109; Aesch. Agamem. 1444; Eur. Herc. Fur. 691; Electr. 151; Eur. fr. 775, 32 (Nauck); Iph. T. 1104; Ap. Rh. 4, 1298; Aristoph. Birds 769; Hm. Hymn. 21, 1; Callim. Hymn. 2, 5; 4, 249.

Theoc. Id. 5, 136; Epitaph. Bionis 14; Lucr. 3, 6; Virg. Ecl. 9, 29; 9, 36; 8, 56; Hor. O. 4, 4, 19.

Ov. H. 7, 4: — *adverso movimus ista deo*.

Cf. Prop. 1, 1, 8: Cum tamen adversos cogor habere deos.

Ov. H. 7, 5:

*Sed merita et famam corpusque animumque pudicum
Cum male perdiderim, perdere verba leve est.*

Cf. Virg. Aen. 4, 322:

Extinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam,
Fama prior.

Ov. *H.* 7, 7:

Certus es ire tamen miseramque relinquere Didon?

Cf. Virg. Aen. 4, 288 for Aeneas's determination:

Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum,
Classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant etc.

vs. 554:

Aeneas celsa in puppi, iam certus eundi

Aen. 5, 1: Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat
Certus iter. (See Palmer.)

Ov. *H.* 7, 8:

Atque idem venti vela fidemque ferent?

Cf. Ep. 2, 25:

Demophoon, ventis et verba et vela dedisti.

Met. 8, 133: — Ecquid ad aures

Perveniunt mea dicta tuas? An inania venti
Verba ferunt, idemque tuas, ingrata carinas?

Such expressions are very numerous in the poets. Cf.

Prop. 5, 7, 21: fallacia verba

Non audituri diripere noti.

Ov. Ep. 13, 92; Am. 1, 6, 42; 1, 7, 15; 1, 8, 106; 1, 6, 52; Fast. 5, 686; Trist. 1, 2, 17; Cat. 64, 59; Theoc. Id. 23, 35; Theognis 1168; and the following given in Zingerle 1, 40: Ov. Rem. 286; Am. 2, 11, 33; 2, 16, 45; 1, 4, 11; A. A. 1, 388; Trist. 1, 8, 35; Catull. 64, 142; 30, 9; 70, 3; Tib. 1, 4, 21; 1, 5, 35; Prop. 3, 24, 8; Lucr. 4, 932; Hor. O. 1, 26, 1.

Add Eur. Tro. 419; 454; Anacr. 58, 9 f. (Rose).

(Schulze on Catullus, Jahrbh. f. Phil. 125, 208 ff.)

Theoc. 22, 167; Eur. Herc. F. 650.

(Schütz on Hor. O. 1, 25, 20.)

These expressions go back to Homer.

Cf. Od. 8, 408 (— where Euryalus apologizes to Odysseus)

— ἔπος δ' εἶ περ τι βέβακται

δαινόν, ἄφαρ τὸ φέροισιν ἀναρπάξασαι ἄελλαι.

Ov. H. 7, 10:

Quaeque ubi sint nescis, Itala regna sequi.

Cf. Virg. Aen. 4, 381:

I, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas.

Palmer compares Aen. 5, 629:

Italiam sequimur fugientem etc.

Cf. Aen. 3, 496.

Ov. H. 7, 11:

*Nec nova Carthago, nec te crescentia tangunt
Moenia.*

Cf. Ep. 2, 89: — nec te mea regia tanget.

Virg. Aen. 4, 86 (as Dido has fallen in love):

*Non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma inventus
Exercet, portusve aut propugnacula bello
Tuta parant; pendent opera interrupta minaeque
Murorum ingentes aequataque machina coelo.*

*Schuckburgh compares Aen. 1, 423 (when Aeneas first sees
the place):*

*Miratur portas strepitumque et strata viarum,
Instant ardentem Tyrii, pars ducere muros etc.*

Cf. Aen. 1, 437.

Ov. H. 7, 12: — nec sceptro tradita summa tuo?

Cf. Aen. 4, 374: — eiectum litore, egentem

Excepi et regni demens in parte locavi.

and 597: Tum decuit, cum sceptrum dabas.

Ov. H. 7, 13:

*Facta fugis, facienda petis. quaerenda per orbem
Altera, quaesita est altera terra tibi.*

Cf. Aen. 4, 74:

*Nunc media Aenean secum per moenia ducit,
Sidoniasque ostentat opes urbemque paratam.*

Aen. 3, 495:

*Vobis parata quies; nullum maris aequor arandum,
Arva neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro
Quaerenda.*

Ov. H. 7, 23:

*Uror, ut inducto ceratae sulphure taedae.
Aenean animo noxque diesque refert.*

For the fact cf. *Aen. 4, 1:*

*At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura
Vulnus alit venis, et caeco carpitur igni.
Multa viri virtus animo, multusque recursat
Gentis honos; haerent infixi pectore vultus
Verbaque, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.*

and *4, 66:* — *Est mollis flamma medullas*

Interea, et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.

Uritur infelix Dido etc.

The comparison of love to a flame seems to be as old as the literature of love.

Cf. *Sapph. fr. 2, 9: λέπτον δ'*

αὔτικα χρῶ πῦρ ὑπαδεθρόμακεν

fr. 115: ὄπταις ἄμμε.

The figure became so common and so hackneyed that the poets sought to avoid the monotonous effect by limiting the flame to a certain kind. It is thus that Ovid brings in here the sulphur-flame, a comparison which does not occur in any other author, as far as I know.

Cf. *Met. 3, 371:*

*Vidit et incaluit, sequitur vestigia furtim;
Quoque magis sequitur, flamma propiore calescit,
Non aliter, quam cum summis circumlita taedis
Admotam rapiunt vivacia sulphura flammam.*

A. A. 2, 439:

*Ut levis absumptis paulatim viribus ignis
Ipse latet, summo canet in igne cinis
Sed tamen extinctas admoto sulphure flammam
Invenit, et lumen quod fuit ante, redit:
Sic, ubi pigra situ securaque pectora torpent,
Acribus est stimulis eliciendus amor.*

The same thought is found in *Rem. 731:*

*Ut paene extinctum cinerem si sulphure tangas,
Vivet et e minimo maximus ignis erit etc.*

Cf. Chariton 1, 1, 15:

*ὥσπερ τι λύχνου φῶς ἤδη σβεννύμενον ἐπιχυθέντος ἐλαίου
πάλιν ἀνέλαμψε καὶ μείζων ἐγένετο καὶ κρείττων κτλ.*

Lygd. [Tib. 3], 5, 17:

Uritur, ut celeres urunt altaria flammae.

Ov. Ep. 12, 33:

*Et vidi et perii. nec notis ignibus arsi,
Ardet ut at magnos pinea taeda deos.*

Ep. 15, 9:

*Uror, ut indomitis ignem exercentibus euris
Fertilis accensis messibus ardet ager.*

Hor. Epod. 5, 79: *Priusque caelum sidet inferius mari*

*Tellure porrecta super,
Quam non amore sic meo flagres, uti
Bitumen atris ignibus.*

Cf. Epod. 17, 30.

Other references: Ov. Ep. 12, 38; 19, 93; 20, 56; 20, 119;
Met. 1, 492; 6, 455; Anacreon (Rose) 11, 13; Cat. 35, 15;
45, 16; Virg. Ecl. 2, 28; Theoc. Id. 2, 23; 2, 82; 2, 133.

Washietl, p. 106, without sufficient evidence, refers our passage to Lucr. 6, 879 ff. and 895 ff.

Ov. H. 7, 26: Aenean animo noxque diesque refert.

Cf., besides the passage given above, Virg. Aen. 4, 83:

— *illum absens absentem auditque videtque.*

Ov. H. 7, 27:

Ille quidem male gratus et ad mea munera surdus.

Cf. Aeneas's speech, Virg. Aen. 4, 333 ff., especially vs. 338:

— *Nec coniugium umquam
Praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni.*

Ov. H. 7, 29:

Non tamen Aenean, quamvis male cogitat, odi.

Cf. Prop. 5, 8, 49:

Non tamen insector, quamvis mereare, Properti,

Ov. H. 7, 31:

*Parce, Venus, nurui, durumque amplexere fratrem,
Frater Amor. Castris militet ille tuis.*

It is a favorite theme with Ovid that love is warfare. Cf.

Am. 1, 9, 1:

*Militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido:
Attice, crede mihi, militat omnis amans. etc.*

Am. 2, 9, 2:

*Quid me, qui miles numquam tua signa reliqui,
Laedis et in castris vulneror ipse meis.*

Am. 1, 2, 32:

Et Pudor et castris quidquid Amoris obest.

A. A. 2, 233:

Militiae species amor est, discedite segnes.

Cf. *Am. 2, 18, 39; 2, 12, 27; Rem. 4; A. A. 2, 674; 3, 559;*

Ep. 17, 56; Fast. 4, 7; Ex P. 3, 3, 82.

In Rome, busied with everlasting wars, the thought was not far to seek and had been used before Ovid. Cf. *Hor. O. 4, 1, 1:*

*Intermissa, Venus, diu
Rursus bella moves? Parce, precor, precor.*

vs. 15: Et centum puer artium

Late signa feret militiae tuae.

3, 26, 1: Vixi puellis nuper idoneus

Et militavi non sine gloria

Nunc arma defunctumque bello

Barbiton hic paries habebit.

Tib. 1, 1, 75:

Hic ego dux milesque bonus: vos, signa, tubaeque etc.

2, 6, 5: Ure, puer, quaeso, tua qui ferus otia liquit,

Atque iterum erronem sub tua signa voca.

Prop. 5, 1, 137:

Militiam Veneris blandis patiere sub armis

Et Veneris pueris utilis hostis eris.

Cf. *Nicetas Eugenianus 2, 100:*

ἀντιστρατεύειν ταῖς ἑρωτοῖς σφενδόναις.

Achilles Tatius 4, 7, 3: *ἐνδον μου τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλλος πόλεμος
κάθεται· στρατιώτης με πορθεῖ τόξον ἔχων, βέλος ἔχων κτλ.*

Ov. H. 7, 34: Cf. Am. 1, 3, 2.

Ov. H. 7, 37:

*Te lapis et montes innataque rupibus altis
Robora, te saevae progeniunt ferae,
Aut mare, quale vides agitari nunc quoque ventis.*

Cf. Virg. Aen. 4, 365:

*Nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor,
Perfide; sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucasus, Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.*

It is probable that this is the immediate source of Ovid here, though such expressions are very common from Homer down.

Cf. Il. 16, 33:

*νηλεές, οὐκ ἄρα σοί γε πατήρ ἐν ἱππότα Πηλεὺς
οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ· γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα
πέτραι τ' ἡλίβατοι, ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής.*

Od. 19, 163:

οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἐσσι παλαιφάτου οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης.

See notes on Ep. 1, 58 and 3, 133.

Cf. also Ep. 10, 131:

*Nec pater est Aegeus, nec tu Pittheidos Aethrae
Filius. Auctores saxa fretumque tui.*

Met. 8, 120:

*Non genetrix Europa tibi est, sed inhospita Syrtis,
Armeniae tigres austroque agitata Charybdis.*

*7, 32: Hoc ego si patiar, tum me de tigride natam,
Tum ferrum et scopulos gestare in corde fatebor.*

9, 613: — neque enim de tigride natus

*Nec rigidas silices solidumve in pectore ferrum
Aut adamantam gerit, nec lac bibit ille leaenae.*

Cf. Trist. 3, 11, 2; Am. 1, 11, 9.

Cat. 60, 1:

Nam te leaena montibus Libystinis
Aut Scylla latrans infima inguinum parte
Tam mente dura procreavit ac tetra.

64, 154:

Quaenam te genuit sola sub rube leaena,
Quod mare conceptum spumantibus expuit undis,
Quae Syrtis, quae Scylla rapax, quae vasta Charybdis?

Lygd. [Tib. 3], 4, 85:

Nam te nec vasti genuerunt aequora ponti
Nec flammam volvens ore chamaera fero
Nec canis anguinea redimitus terga caterva
Cui tres sunt linguae tergeminumque caput,
Scyllaque virgineam canibus succincta figuram,
Nec te conceptam saeva leaena tulit,
Barbara nec Scythiae tellus horrendave Syrtis.

Virg. Ecl. 8, 44:

Nunc scio quid sit Amor; duris in cotibus illum
Aut Tmaros, aut Rhodope, aut extremi Garamantes,
Nec generis nostri puerum nec sanguinis edunt.

Theoc. Id. 3, 15:

*Nῦν ἔγνων τὸν Ἑρωτα· βαρὺς θεός· ἦρα λεαίνας
μαζὸν ἐθήλαζε, δρυμῶ τέ νιν ἔτραφε μάτηρ·*

23, 19:

*ἄγριε παῖ καὶ στυγνέ, κακῶς ἀνάθρεμμα λεαίνας,
λαῖνε παῖ καὶ ἔρωτος ἀνάξιε.*

Eur. Bacch. 988:

*τίς ἄρα νιν ἔτεκεν;
οὐ γὰρ ἐξ αἵματος γυναικῶν ἔφν·
λεαίνας δὲ γέγον' ὅδ' ἡ Γοργόνων
Λιβυσσᾶν γένος.*

Med. 1342:

*λέωναν οὐ γυναῖκα, τῆς Τυρσηνίδος
Σκύλλης ἔχουσαν ἀγριωτέραν φύσιν.*

Cf. vs. 1358.

Ellis on Cat. 60 compares Aesch. Eum. 193:

λέοντος ἄντρον αἵματορρόφον
οἰκεῖν τοιαύτας εἰκός.

and Eur. Med. 1406: — τῆς μυσσαρᾶς
καὶ παιδοφόνου τῆσδε λεάινας.

For the later literature, Cf. Nicetas Eugenianus 2, 90:

γάλα λεάινας ἐξεμύζησας ἄρα
καὶ μαστὸν ἄρκτων ἐξεθήλασας τάχα.

4, 244:

μὴ γὰρ δρυὸς προῆλθον ἢ πετρῶν ἔφυν.

Theodorus Prodromus 8, 95:

οὐ γὰρ λίθου προῆλθον, οὐ πέτρας ἔφυν,
οὐ δρυῶς με παρήνεγκεν εἰς φῶς εἰς βίον.

Cf. Manasse 1, 49.

(Some of these examples may be found in Zingerle 1, 42.)

Ov. H. 7, 40:

*Quo tamen adversis fluctibus ire paras.
Quo fugis? Obstat hiemps! Hiemis mihi gratia prosit.
Aspice, ut eversas concitet eurus aquas.
Quod tibi malueram, sine me debere procellis.*

Cf. Virg. Aen. 4, 51 (Anna to Dido):

Indulge hospitio, causasque innecte morandi,
Dum pelago desaevit hiemps et aquosus Orion.

vs. 309: Quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem,
Et mediis properas aquilonibus ire per altum etc.

Ov. H. 7, 45: Non ego sum tanti etc.

Zingerle 1, 108 compares Tib. 2, 6, 42:

Non ego sum tanti, ploret ut illa semel.

Ov. H. 7, 46: — dum me per freta longa fugis.

Cf. Virg. Aen. 4, 314: Mene fugis?

Ov. H. 7, 49:

*Iam venti ponent, stratuque aequaliter unda
Caeruleis Triton per mare curret equis.*

Cf. Virg. Aen. 1, 142:

Sic ait, et dicto citius tumida aequora placat,
Collectasque fugat nubes solemqne reducit.
Cymothoe simul et Triton adnexus acuto
Detrudunt navis scopulo; levat ipse tridenti;
Et vastas aperit Syrtis, et temperat aequor,
Atque rotis summas levibus perlabitur undas.

Cf. Il. 13, 27: βῆ δ' ἐλάαν ἐπὶ κύματ' —

vs. 29: — τοὶ δὲ πέτοντο

ῥίμφα μάλ', οὐδ' ὑπένερθε διαίνετο χάλκεος ἄξων.

Ov. H. 7, 51:

Tu quoque cum ventis utinam mutabilis esses!

Cf. Ep. 19, 95. This is barely suggestive of Prop. 2, 9, 32:

Hoc unum didicit femina semper, opus,
Non sic incerto mutantur flamine Syrtes,
Nec folia hiberno tam tremefacta Noto,
Quam cito feminea non constat foedus in ira.

Lygd. [Tib. 3] 4, 61:

A! Crudele genus nec fidum femina nomen!

63: Sed flecti poterit: mens est *mutabilis* illis.

Ov. H. 7, 57:

*Nec violasse fidem temptantibus uequora prodest:
Perfidiae poenas exigit ille locus.*

Cf. Hor. O. 3, 2, 26: — vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum

Volgarit arcanae, sub isdem
Sit trabibus fragilemve mecum
Solvat phaselon.

With this Kiessling compares Eur. fr. 848 (Nauck):

— ὅστις δὲ τῷ φύσαντε μὴ τιμᾶν θέλη,
μή μοι γένοιτο μήτε συνθύτης θεοῖς
μήτ' ἐν θαλάσῃ κοινόπλουν στέλλοι σκάφος.

Macleane gives Eur. Electr. 1354:

οὕτως ἀδικεῖν μηδεὶς θελέτω,
μηδ' ἐπιόρκων μέτα συμπλείτω.

Palmer on Ov. cites Antiphon (5, 82) as quoted by Paley on Aesch. Theb. 599:

οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐπίσταςθαι ὅτι πολλοὶ ἤδη ἄνθρωποι μὴ καθαροὶ χεῖρας ἢ ἄλλο τι μίασμα ἔχοντες συνεισβάντες εἰς τὸ πλοῖον συναπάλεσαν μετὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ψυχῆς τοὺς ὁσίως διακειμένους τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς.

Ov. *H.* 7, 59:

*Praecipue cum laesus amor. quia mater Amorum
Nuda Cytheriacis edita fertur aquis.*

On the birth of Aphrodite cf. Hes. Theog. 195.

One would be inclined to seek the original of this passage among the Alexandrian poets and it may be that Musaeus goes back to such a source. vs. 249:

Ἀγνώσσεις ὅτι Κύπρις ἀπόσπορός ἐστι θαλάσσης
καὶ κρατεῖ πόντιο;

In no other authors do I find just this thought. In Nonnus 1, 86, however, we have a reference which recalls this. (He is speaking of Zeus and Europa) —:

καὶ Λιὸς ὕδατόεντι δεσσημένον πόρον ὀλκῷ
οὐ πόρον ἔσβασε πόντος, ὅτι βρυχίην Ἀφροδίτην
Οὐρανίης ὠδινεν ἀπ' αἴλακος ἔγκνον ὕδωρ.

Ovid repeats the idea in Ep. 15, 213:

*Solve ratem! Venus orta mari mare praestat amanti.
Aura dabit cursum. tu modo solve ratem.*

Ep. 16, 23:

*Illa dedit faciles auras ventosque secundos:
In mare nimirum ius habet orta mari.*

Ep. 19, 159:

*Quod timeas, non est. Auso Venus ipsa favebit,
Sternet et aequoreas aequore nata vias.*

I believe it has escaped the notice of the commentators that this reference is very inappropriate here as the 'mater Amorum' is also the mother of Aeneas, and would naturally spare her son, even if the winds did not carry off lovers' oaths in general. A. A. 1, 633:

Jupiter ex alto periuria ridet amantum,
Et iubet Aeolios irrita ferre notos.

Tib. 4, 4, 15:

Pone Metum, Cerinthe: deus non laedit amantes.

Different from Ovid is Tib. 1, 2, 39:

Nam fuerit quicumque loquax, is sanguine natam,
Is Venerem e rabido sentiet esse mari.

Here the idea is that Venus can be cruel and severe. Cf. the quotations on vs. 37. There is no notion, as in Ovid, that the sea is the province of Venus where she would be especially likely to inflict punishment on the faithless.

We have 'Venus marina' in Hor. O. 3, 26, 6; *δέσποινα πορτία* Eur. Hippol. 415 etc.

Ov. H. 7, 61:

*Perdita ne perdam, timeo, noceamve nocenti,
Neu bibat aequoreas naufragus hostis aquas.
Vive, precor. Si te melius, quam funere perdam.*

Palmer has noticed that Virgil's Dido is much more vengeful.

Cf. Virg. Aen. 4, 381:

I, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas.
Spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,
Supplicia hausurun scopulis, et nomine Dido
Saepe vocaturum. Sequar atris ignibus absens,
Et cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus,
Omnibus umbra locis adero. Dabis, improbe, poenas.
Audiam, et haec Manis veniet mihi fama sub imos.

vs. 519:

Testatur moritura deos et conscia fati
Sidera; tum, si quod non aequo foedere amantis
Curae numen habet iustumque memorque precatur.

vs. 597: — En dextra fidesque,

Quem secum patrios aiunt portare Penatis,
Quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem!
Non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis
Spargere? Non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro
Ascanium, patriisque epulandum ponere mensis? —

Verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna. — Fuisset;
 Quem metui moritura? Faces in castra tulissem,
 Implessemque foros flammis, natumque patremque
 Cum genere exstinxem, memet super ista dedissem etc.

With *vive precor*, cf. Eur. Med. 82 Nurse says:

ὦ τέκν', ἀκούεθ' οἷος εἰς ὑμᾶς πατήρ;
 ὅλοιτο μὲν μή. δεσπότης γάρ ἐστ' ἐμός.

Ov. *H.* 7, 65:

Finge, age, te rapido — nullum sit in omine pondus! —
Turbine deprendi. Quid tibi mentis erit?
Protinus occurrent falsae periuria linguae,
Et Phrygia Dido fraude coacta mori:
Coniugis ante oculos deceptae stabit imago
Tristis et effusis sanguinolenta comis.

Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4, 382 (already quoted):

Spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,
 Supplicia hausurum scopulis, et nomine Dido
 Saepe vocaturum. Sequar atris ignibus absens,
 Et cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus,
 Omnibus umbra locis adero.

The connection between these two passages is plain, in spite of the changes Ovid has made. We have in both: shipwreck, thought of Dido, her shade.

Ov. *H.* 7, 68: *Et Phrygia Dido fraude coacta mori.*

Virg. *Aen.* 4, 308: Nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?

Ov. *H.* 7, 69: *Coniugis ante oculos deceptae stabit imago*
Tristis et effusis sanguinolenta comis.

Besides Virg. *Aen.* 4, 386, (given above):

omnibus umbra locis adero,

Cf. Ap. Rh. 3, 703: — ἥ σοί γε φίλοις συν παισὶ θανοῦσα
 εἴην ἐξ Αἰδέω στυγερὴ μετόπισθεν Ἑρινύς.

Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5, 89.

Ov. *H.* 7, 73: See vs. 178 and note.

Ov. *H.* 7, 75: Cf. *Ep.* 20, 197.

Ov. H. 7, 79:

*Sed neque fers tecum, nec quae mihi, perfide iactas —
Presserunt umeros sacra paterque tuos.*

*Cf. Virg. Aen. 4, 597: — En dextra fidesque,
Quem secum patrios aiunt portare Penatis,
Quem subiise umeris confectum aetate parentem!*

For the account, see *Aen. 2, 707 ff.*

For Aeneas carrying his father on his shoulders cf. *Soph.*
in *Laocoon ap. Dionys. Hal. 1*, quoted by *Meziriac 2, 145:*

*νῦν δ' ἐν πύλαισιν Αἰνείας ὁ τῆς Θροῦ
πάρεστ', ἐπ' ὤμων πατέρ' ἔχων.*

Ov. H. 7, 83:

*Si quaeras, ubi sit formosi mater Iuli,
Occidit a duro sola relictā viro.*

For Virgil's account see *Aen. 2, 736:*

*— Namque avia cursu
Dum sequor et mota excedo regione viarum,
Heu! misero coniunx fatone erepta Creusa
Substitit, erravitve via, seu lassa resedit,
Incertum; nec post oculis est reddita nostris.*

Ov. H. 7, 88:

Per mare, per terras septima iactat hiemps.

*Aen. 1, 755: — Nam te iam septima portat
Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas.*

Eur. Helen 776 makes Menelaus also wander seven years before he comes to Helen in Egypt. So the scenes in Egypt and in Carthage would be taking place at the same time.

Ov. H. 7, 89:

*Fluctibus eiectum tuta statione recepi,
Vixque bene audito nomine regna dedi.*

*Cf. Aen. 4, 373: — eiectum litore, egentem
Excepi et regni demens in parte locavi.*

Ov. H. 7, 91:

*His tamen officiis utinam contenta fuisset,
Et mihi concubitus fama sepulta foret!*

Perhaps Palmer is right in seeing an allusion to Aen. 4, 173:

Extemplo Libyae magnas it *Fama* per urbes etc.

Cf. Aen. 4, 221: — oblitos famae melioris amantis.

vs. 321: — te propter eundem

Extinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam,
Fama prior.

vs. 550: Non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam

Degere, more ferae, talis nec tangere curas!

Non servata fides, cineri promissa Sychaeo!

Cf. Ep. 2, 55:

Nec moveor, quod te iuvi portuque locoque.

Debuit haec meriti summa fuisse mei!

Turpiter hospitium lecto cumulasse iugali

Paenitet etc.

Ov. H. 7, 93:

Illa dies nocuit, qua nos declive sua antrum

Caeruleus subitis compulit imber aquis.

Cf. Ep. 5, 33: *Illa dies fatum miserae mihi dixit etc.*

Cf. Aen. 4, 169:

Ille dies primus leti primusque malorum

Causa fuit.

vs. 160 (cf. vs. 120): —

Interea magno misceri murmure caelum

Incipit; insequitur commixta grandine nimbus.

vs. 165:

Speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem

Deveniunt. Prima et Tellus et pronuba Juno

Dant signum; fulsere ignes et conscius aether

Conubiis.

Ov. H. 7, 95:

Audieram vocem. Nymphas ululasse putavi.

Cf. Aen. 4, 168: — Summoque ulularunt vertice nymphae

Ov. H. 7, 96: Eumenides fatis signa dedere meis.

Cf. Ep. 6, 45:

At mihi nec Juno, nec Hymen, sed tristis Erinny
Praetulit infaustas sanguinolenta faces.

Ep. 11, 101:

Tolle procul decepte faces, Hymenaeae, maritas,
Et fuge turbato tecta nefanda pede.
Ferte faces in me, quas fertis, Erinyes atrae,
Ac meus ex isto luceat igne rogos.

Lycophron 405:

ἡ μιν παλεύσει δυσλύτοις οἴστρον βρόχοις,
ἔρωτας οὐκ ἔρωτας, ἀλλ' Ἑρινύων
πικρὰν ἀποψήλασα κηρουλκὸν πάγην.

In Virgil Dido herself calls upon the Avengers.

Cf. Aen. 4, 609:

Nocturnis Hecate triviis ululata per urbes,
Et Dirae Ultrices, et di morientis Elissae etc.

Cf. vs. 376: Heu furiis incensa feror.

Aen. 4, 469 (On the Furies):

Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus,
Et solem geminum et duplicis se ostendere Thebas;
Aut Agamemnonius scaenis agitatus Orestes
Armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris
Cum fugit, ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.

Ov. H. 7, 99:

*Est mihi marmorea sacratus in aede Sychaeus;
Oppositae frondes velleraque alba tegunt.
Hinc ego me sensi noto quater ore citari:
Ipse sono tenui dixit 'Elissa, veni'.*

Cf. Virg. Aen. 4, 457:

Praeterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum
Coningis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat,
Velleribus niveis et festa fronde revinctum.
Hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis
Visa viri, nox cum terras obscura teneret.

For a tomb used as an altar, cf. Eur. Hel. 797.

Ov. H. 7, 105: Cf. *Ep. 4, 33*.

Ov. H. 7, 111:

*Durat in extremum, vitaeque novissima nostrae
Prosequitur fati qui fuit ante tenor.*

Cf. *Ep. 3, 43* and note.

There are many references to fate in Ovid.

Cf. *Ep. 4, 53*; *8, 65*; *6, 28*; *6, 51*; *12, 35*; *7, 3*; *8, 88*; *Met. 15, 814*; *9, 422*. In several of these there is reference to an evil fate resting on a whole family or handed down from generation to generation. Cf. *Ep. 4, 53*:

Forsitan hunc generis fato reddamus amorem etc.

Ovid is supposed to have derived this from the Greek tragedies. Cf. *Eur. Hipp. 337 ff.*

Cf. *Aesch. Theb. 813*:

*αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλοῖ δῆτα δύσποτμον γένος.
vs. 833: — ὦ μέλαινα καὶ τελεία
γένος Οἰδίου τ' ἀρά.
κακὸν με καρδίαν τι περιπίπτει κρῖος.*

Eur. Hipp. 831:

*πρόσωθεν δέ ποθεν ἀνακομίζομαι
τίχαν δαιμόνων
ἀμπλακίαισι τῶν πάροιθεν τινος.*

Of course there are frequent references to fate in the other poets as well.

Cf. *Virg. Aen. 7, 314*; *1, 257*; *1, 299*.

Ov. H. 7, 113:

*Occidit internas coniunx mactatus ad aras,
Et sceleris tanti praemia frater habet.*

Cf. *Aen. 1, 346*: — *Sed regna Tyri germanus habebat
Pygmalion, scellere ante alios immanior omnes.
Quos inter medius venit furor. Ille Sychaeum
Impius ante aras atque auri caecus amore
Clam ferro incautum superat etc.*

Ov. H. 7, 115:

Exsul agor, cineresque viri patriamque relinquo.

Aen. 1, 360: His commota fugam Dido sociosque parabat

Ov. H. 7, 118:

Quod tibi donavi, perfide, litus emo.

Cf. Aen. 1, 365:

Devenere locos, ubi nunc ingentia cernis
Moenia surgentemque novae Karthaginis arcem,
Mercatique solum.

Ov. H. 7, 119:

*Urbem constitui, lateque patentia fixi
Moenia, finitimis invidiosa locis.*

Cf. Aen. 4, 655:

Urbem praeclaram statui; mea moenia vidi.

Ov. H. 7, 121:

Bella tument. bellis peregrina et femina temptor.

Cf. Aen. 4, 43: Quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam?

Ov. H. 7, 123:

*Mille procis placui, qui me coiere querentes
Nescio quem thalamis praeposuisse suis.*

Cf. Ep. 2, 81:

At mea despecti fugiunt conubia Thraces,
Quod ferar externum praeposuisse meis.

Aen. 4, 536:

Quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata maritos.

4, 212:

Femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem
Exiguam pretio posuit, cui litus arandum
Cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra
Reppulit ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit.

4, 520:

Te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni
Odere.

Ov. H. 7, 125:

Quid dubitas vinctam Gaetulo tradere Iarbae.

Cf. Aen. 4, 326: — aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas.

Iarbas is mentioned also in Aen. 4, 36: — despectus Iarbas

Ductoresque alii,

and Aen. 4, 196:

Protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban.

The name occurs as *Iarba* in Fast. 3, 552.

Ov. *H.* 7, 127:

Est etiam frater, cuius manus impia possit

Repergi nostro, sparsa cruore viri.

Cf. Aen. 4, 325: — An mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater

Destruat. Cf. Aen. 1, 348 (quoted on vs. 113).

Ov. *H.* 7, 129:

Pone deos et quae tangendo sacra profanas:

Non bene caelestis impia dextra colit.

Cf. Aen. 2, 717:

Tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque Penatis;

Me, bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti,

Attrectare nefas.

Aen. 4, 597 (quoted on vs. 79):

En dextra fidesque etc.

Aeneas is called *impius* by Dido, Aen. 4, 496.

Ov. *H.* 7, 131:

Si tu cultor eras elapsis igne futuris,

Paenitet clapsos ignibus esse deos.

For the general sense that the gods do not like to be worshiped by the wicked, cf. Ep. 20, 181:

Non bove mactato caelestia numina gaudent,

Sed, quae praestanda est et sine teste, fides.

Hor. O. 3, 23, 17:

Immunis aram si tetigit manus,

Non sumptuosa blandior hostia

Mollivit aversos Penatis

Farre pio et saliente mica.

Tib. 4, 1, 14:

Parvae caelestis placavit mica, nec illis
Semper inaurato taurus cadit hostia cornu.

Cat. 30, 4:

Nec facta inopia fallacum hominum caelicolis placent.

Ov. H. 7, 133:

*Forsitan et gravidam Didon, scelerate, relinquo,
Parsque tui lateat corpore clausa meo.*

Cf. Ep. 6, 61.

Ap. Rh. 1, 896:

μνώσο μὲν ἀπειὼν τερὶ ὁμῶς καὶ νόστιμος ἤδη
Ἵψιπύλης· λίπε δ' ἡμῖν ἔπος, τό κεν ἐξανύσαιμι
πρόφρων, ἣν ἄρ' αὖ δ' με θεοὶ δώσωσι τεκέσθαι.

Ovid here changes Virgil. Cf. Aen. 4, 327:

Saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
Ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula
Luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
Non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.

Ov. H. 7, 139: *Sed iubet ire deus.*

Cf. Aen. 4, 345 (Aeneas speaks):

Sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,
Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes.

Cf. vs. 376 (Dido speaks): — Nunc augur Apollo,
Nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Jove missus ab ipso
Interpres divom fert horrida iussa per auras.

Ov. H. 7, 139 (2nd part): — *Vellem, vetuisset adire,
Punica nec Teucris pressa fuisset humus.*

Cf. Aen. 4, 657:

Felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum
Numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae!

Cf. Cat. 64, 171:

Juppiter omnipotens, utinam ne tempore primo
Gnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes, etc.

Cf. Eur. Med. 1 ff.

Ov. H. 7, 141:

Hoc duce nempe deo ventis agitaris iniquis.

*Cf. Aen. 5, 17: Magnanime Aenea, non, si mihi Jupiter auctor
Spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo,
Mutati transversa fremunt et vespere ab atro
Consurgunt venti, atque in nubem cogitur aër.*

Ov. H. 7, 143:

*Pergama vix tanto tibi erant repetenda labore,
Hectore si vivo quanta fuere, forent!*

Cf. Aen. 4. 311:

*— Quid si non arva aliena domosque
Ignotas peteres, et Troia antiqua maneret,
Troia per undosum peteretur classibus aequor?*

Ov. H. 7, 145:

Non patrium Simoënta petis, sed Thybridus undas.

Cf. Aen. 3, 500:

*Si quando Thybrim vicinaque Thybridis arva
Intraro.*

Ov. H. 7, 150: Accipe et advectas Pygmalionis opes.

Cf. Aen. 1, 363: — portantur avari

Pygmalionis opes pelago.

Cf. Fast. 3, 474: Pygmalionis opes.

Ov. H. 7, 152:

Hancque loco regis sceptraque sacra tene.

Cf. Aen. 4, 374:

Excepi et regni demens in parte locavi.

Ov. H. 7, 153: — Si quaerit Iulus,

Unde suo partus Marte triumphus eat,

Quem superet, nequid desit, praebebimus hostem.

This is an answer to the argument used in Virgil that Aeneas should proceed to Italy for Ascanius' sake.

Aen. 4, 234:

Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?

Cf. vs. 354 (just below).

Ov. H. 7, 161:

*Ascaniusque suos feliciter impleat annos,
Et senis Anchisae molliter ossa cubent.*

This seems to have reference to Virgil,

Aen. 4. 351:

*Me patris Anchisae, quotiens humentibus umbris
Nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,
Admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago;
Me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari
Quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis.*

For the expression, *molliter ossa cubent*, cf. the epitaph which Ovid writes for himself *Trist. 3, 3, 73:*

*Hic ego qui iaceo tenerorum lusor amorum
Ingenio perii Naso poeta meo
At tibi qui transis ne sit grave quisquis amasti
Dicere Nasonis, Molliter ossa cubent.*

Cf. Am. 3, 9, 67:

*Ossa quieti, precor, tuta requiescite in urna,
Et sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo!*

(*Cf. Am. 1, 8, 108.*)

Virg. Ecl. 10, 33:

O mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescant. (Zingerle.)

Tib. 2, 4, 49:

*Et 'bene' discedens dicet 'placideque quiescas,
Terraque securae sit super ossa levis'.*

2, 6, 29: Parce, per inmatúra tuæ precor ossa sororis:

Sic bene sub tenera parva quiescat humo.

Prop. 1, 17, 22:

Molliter et tenera poneret ossa rosa.

vs. 24: Ut mihi non ullo pondere terra foret.

Eur. Alcest. 463: Κούφα σοι

Χθρὼν ἐπάνωθε πέσοι, γίναι.

(*Cf. Eur. Helen. 853.*)

Ov. H. 7, 163: Parce, precor, domui

Cf. Aen. 4, 318: Miserere domus labentis.

Ov. H. 7, 164:

Quod crimen dicis praeter amasse meum?

Cf. the much-discussed and obscure line, *Aen. 10, 188:*

Crimen amor vestrum, formaeque insigne paternae.

Cf. *Ep. 2, 27:*

Dic mihi quid feci, nisi non sapienter amavi?

Crimine te potui demeruisse meo.

Unum in me scelus est, quod te, scelerate, recepi,

Sed scelus hoc meriti pondus et instar habet.

Ov. H. 7, 165:

Non ego sum Phthia magnisque oriunda Mycenis,

Nec steterunt in te virque paterque meus.

Cf. *Aen. 4, 425:*

Non ego cum Danais Troianam excindere gentem

Aulide iuravi, classemve ad Pergama misi,

Nec fratris Anchisae Cinerem Manisve revelli —

The thought recurs in *Ep. 19, 147:*

Nobilis ille quidem est et clarus origine, sed non

A tibi suspecto duxit Ulixæ genus.

Ov. H. 7, 167:

Si pudet uxoris, non nupta, sed hospita dicar

Dum tua sit Dido, quodlibet esse feret.

Cf. for *hospita* *Virg. Aen. 4, 323:*

— cui me moribundam deseris, hospes?

Hic solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat.

For sense, cf. *Ep. 12, 110:*

Munus in exilio quodlibet esse tuli.

Cf. *Ep. 3, 69 (and note):*

Victorem captiva sequar, non nupta maritum.

Ov. H. 7, 175:

Et socii requiem poscunt, laniataque classis

Postulat exiguas semirefecta moras.

Cf. Ep. 2, 45:

At laceras etiam puppes furiosa refeci,
Ut, qua desererer, firma carina foret.

Ov. *H.* 7, 177:

*Pro meritis et siqua tibi debebimus ultra,
Pro spe coniugii —*

Cf. Aen. 4, 316:

Per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,
Si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam
Dulce meum —

In *Fast.* 3, 623: Aeneas confesses to Anna:

— Nil non debemus Elissae.

Cf. *Rem. Am.* 273--280.

Ov. *H.* 7, 178: — *tempora parva peto:*

*Dum freta mitescunt et amor, dum tempore et usu,
Fortiter edisco tristia posse pati.*

Cf. Aen. 4, 431:

Non iam coniugium antiquum, quod prodidit, oro,
Nec pulchro ut Latio careat regnumque relinquat;
Tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori,
Dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere.

Ov. *H.* 7, 181:

Si minus, est animus nobis effundere vitam.

For threats of suicide cf. Ep. 2, 143; 3, 143.

Ov. *H.* 7, 184:

Scribimus, et gremio Troicus ensis adest.

Cf. Ep. 11, 3:

Dextra tenet calamum, strictum tenet altera ferrum,
Et iacet in gremio charta soluta meo.

Aen. 4, 495:

— et arma viri, thalamo quae fixa reliquit
Impius.

vs. 507: — Super exuvias ensemque relictum.

vs. 646: Conscendit furibunda rogos, ensemque recludit
Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.

Ov. H. 7, 185:

Perque genas lacrimae strictum labuntur in ensem,
cf. *Aen. 4, 449:* — lacrimae volvuntur inanes.

Ov. H. 7, 186:

Qui iam pro lacrimis sanguine tinctus erit.
Cf. *Aen. 4, 664:*
Conlapsam aspiciunt comites, ensemque cruore
Spumantem.

Ov. H. 7, 191: Anna soror, soror Anna.

Cf. *Aen. 4, 634:*

Annam cara mihi nutrix huc siste sororem.
Anna is mentioned also in *Fast. 3, 559, 605, 607, 613 and 654*. She finally becomes the goddess Anna Perenna, the bride of the calm river Numicius.

Ov. H. 7, 194:

Hoc tamen in tumuli marmore carmen erit:
'Praebuit Aeneas et causam mortis et ensem,
Ipsa sua Dido concidit usa manu'.

These two lines recur in *Fast. 3, 549*.

Once more we compare *Ep. 2*.

vs. 145: Inscribere meo causa invidiosa sepulchro
Aut hoc, aut simili carmine notus eris.
'Phyllida Demophoon leto dedit, hospes amantem:
Ille necis causam praebuit, ipsa manum'.

Theoc. Id. 23, 46:

γράψον καὶ τόδε γράμμα·
τοῦτον ἔρωσ ἐκτεινεν. ὁδοιπόρε, μὴ παροδεύσης,
ἀλλὰ σὰς τόδε λέξον· ἀπηνέα εἶχεν ἑταῖρον·

Epitaphs were common in this kind of literature. Cf. *Virg. Ecl. 5, 40:*

Spargite humum foliis, inducite fontibus umbras,
Pastores: mandat fieri sibi talia Daphnis;
Et tumulum facite, et tumulo superaddite carmen.

Meziriac 2, 237 Closes his remarks on this epistle by quoting Ausonius,

Infelix Dido, nulli bene nupta marito,
Hoc pereunte fugis, hoc fugiente peris.

Summary to Ep. 7.

We find that Ovid used Virgil in this letter very much as he used Homer in those which we have already examined. The only difference is that he knew his Virgil better than he knew his Homer, or at least better than he knew his Odyssey, for we do not find any mistakes in this letter. He still takes the liberty, however, of making a few changes and additions, though he usually follows the statements of Virgil pretty closely. (For correspondences, see notes on vss. 5 *famam*, 7 *certus es ire*, 10 *Itala regna sequi*, 11 *crescentia-moenia*, 13 *facta fugis*, 23 *uror*, 26 *Aenean animo*, 37 *te lapis et montes*, 41 *obstat hiemps*, 65 *Finge te rapido*, 69 *umbra*, 80 *presserunt umeros*, 89 *fluctibus eiectum*, 93 *Illa dies*, 95 *Nymphas*, 99 *sacratus in aede Sychaeus*, 113 *occidit internas coniunx*, 115 *Exsul agor*, 118 *litus emo*, 119 *Urbem constitui*, 121 *bella tument*, 123 *mille procis placui*, 125 *Iarbas*, 139 *iubet ire deus*, 143 *Per-gama vix tanto*, 150 *Pygmalionis opes*, 163 *Purce, precor, domui*, 165 *Non ego sum Phthia*, 177 *Pro meritis*, 178 *tempora parva peto*, 184 *Troicus ensis*, 191 *Anna soror*.

For some slight changes see vss. 88 *hiemps* instead of *aestas*, 93 *illa dies* instead of *ille*, 133 *gravidam Didon*, 153 *si quaerit Iulus* (*answer to Virg.*), 162 *Anchises* (*ans. to Virg.*)

In representing the feelings and character of Dido, however, his difference from Virgil is noticeable. In Virgil, Dido is now burning with vengeance for her treacherous lover and the only consolation she finds in the hour of death is in the utterance of dire imprecations upon his head and race. In Ovid, on the contrary, she still loves him, though he deserves it not. She would not regret the breaking of her vow to the shade of Sychaeus, if Aeneas only remained true. She still hopes that

he may meet with no harm. (See note on vs. 61.) As in the other letters, there are a few verses suggestive of other poets.

(Cf. vs. 32: — *castris militet ille tuis*

vs. 8: *Atque idem venti vela fidemque ferent?*)

Epistle 10 (Ariadne).

It seems to have been Ovid's plan to select the most famous works on the several subjects, as his authority for the main facts assumed in these letters. It was a part of his plan to choose characters more or less known in literature, so that he might presuppose among his readers a certain acquaintance with them. On this principle we may, without investigation, regard it as probable that he chose the most famous poem on Ariadne as his source for this letter. What was then the most famous poem on Ariadne at the time of Ovid? We have no direct evidence from Ovid on this point, as we had in the preceding letters. It was, though, very probably the sixty-fourth poem of Catullus.

Cf. Lygdamus, [Tib. 3,] 6, 39:

Gnosia, Theseae quondam periuria linguae

Flevisti ignoto sola relicta mari:

Sic cecinit pro te doctus, Minoi, Catullus,

Ingrati referens inpiâ facta viri.

In Am. 3, 9. 61 Ovid speaks of Catullus as coming forward to meet Tibullus in Elysium,

Obvius huic venias, hederâ iuvenalia cinctus

Tempora, cum Calvo, docte Catulle, tuo.

He speaks again of Catullus, Trist. 2, 427:

Sic tuo lascivo cantata est saepe Catullo etc.

There is moreover in Ovid some interesting indirect evidence that he used Catullus here. Compare, for instances, Cat. 64, 143:

Tum iam nulla viro iuranti femina credat.

With Ov. Fast. 3, 475 (about Ariadne):

Nunc quoque „nulla viro“ clamabo „femina credat“!

This was probably intended by Ovid to recall Catullus; perhaps also Trist. 3, 473:

Dicebam, memini, „periure et perfide Theseu,“
bears the same relation to Cat. 64, 132:

Siccine me patriis avectam, perfide, ab aris,
Perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu?

(See Haupt, Opusc. 2, 67, quoted on p. 9.)

Another example in a different connection of such a use of Catullus, has already been given (see p. 9).

Cf. Cat. 63, 42:

Multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae:
Idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,
Nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae.

With Ov. Met. 3, 353:

Multi illum iuvenes, multae cupiere puellae;
Sed fuit in tenera tam dura superbia forma,
Nulli illum iuvenes, nullae tetigere puellae.

Ovid treats the story of Ariadne in three places: here he gives the Theseus part; in A. A. 1, 527—564, the Bacchus part; and in Fast. 3, 459—516, we have the transformation of Ariadne's crown into a star. For an outline of the whole story, cf. Met. 8, 172—182.

The story is very old and wide-spread.

Cf. Plut. Thes. c. 20:

πολλοὶ δὲ λόγοι καὶ περὶ τούτων: τι λέγονται καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀριάδνης, οὐδὲν ὁμολογούμενον ἔχοντες.

It is mentioned in Homer, Od. 11, 321:

Φαίδρην τε Πρόκριν τε ἴδον καλήν τ' Ἀριάδνην,
κούρην Μίνως ὀλοόφρονος, ἣν ποτε Θησεὺς
ἐκ Κρήτης ἐς γονὸν Ἀθηναίων ἱερῶν
ἦγε μὲν, οὐδ' ἀπόνητο· πάρος δέ μιν Ἄρτεμις ἐκτα
Αἴη ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ Λιονύσου μαρτυρήσιν. —

Also in Hes. Theog. 947:

Χρυσοκόμης δὲ Λιώνυσος ξανθὴν Ἀριάδνην,
κούρην Μίνως, θαλερὴν ποιήσας ἄκοιτον.
τὴν δὲ οἱ ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήρω θῆκε Κρονίων.

Cf. Hes. fr. 85 (Plut. Thes. c. 20) and fr. 86 (Athen. 13 p. 557). Plutarch mentions other writers on this subject (Jon, Paeon). The story was frequently represented in works of art. (See Ellis, Commentary on Catullus, p. 226). In Xen. Symp. c. 9, a man and woman act in pantomime Bacchus and Ariadne. (Ellis.)

If we could determine the sources of Cat. 64, it might be of importance here, for it is possible, of course, that Ovid consulted the same sources. Much study and discussion has been bestowed on this question by scholars but no satisfactory results have been obtained. Riese, Rh. M. 21, 498 ff., attempted to show that Catullus had simply translated a poem of Callimachus, but there was not sufficient evidence for this. For a refutation of Riese, see especially Schulze, Jahrb. 125, 208 ff.

E. Maas, Hermes 24, 528 ff., makes some comparisons between Nonnus (47, 390 ff.) and Catullus and comes to the conclusion that some unknown Greek poem was the common source for the two.

For similarities and differences between Catullus in this poem and the Alexandrians in general, see Ellis, Commentary, p. 228.

Examination of the poem:

Ov. H. 10, 1:

Mitius inveni quam te genus omne ferarum.

Credita non ulli quam tibi peius eram.

For Ariadne's state of mind cf. Cat. 64, 54:

Indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores.

Ov. H. 10, 3: litore cf. Cat. 64, 52 *litore* Diae. See A. A. 1, 528.

Ov. H. 10, 5:

In quo me somnusque meus male prodidit et tu.

Cf. Cat. 64, 56:

Ut pote fallaci quae tum primum excita somno.

Hm. Od. 10, 68:

*ἄασάν μ' ἑταροὶ τε κακοὶ πρὸς τοῖσί τε ὕπνος
σχέτλιος.*

Ov. H. 10, 8: — et tectae fronde queruntur aves.

Cf. Am. 3, 1, 4:

Et latere ex omni dulce queruntur aves.

Cf. Ep. 18, 81; 15, 182; Fast. 4, 166.

Tib. 1, 3, 60:

Dulce sonant tenui gutture carmen aves.

Hor. Epod. 2, 26: Queruntur in silvis aves.

Ov. H. 10, 15:

Protinus adductis sonuerunt pectora palmis,

Utque erat e somno turbida, rapta coma est.

Cf. Cat. 64, 63 ff.

Ov. A. A. 1, 535 (of Ariadne):

Iamque iterum tundens mollissima pectora palmis.

Met. 5, 473: — inornatos laniavit diva capillos,

Et repetita suis percussit pectora palmis.

Met. 10, 722: — pariterque sinum pariterque capillos

Rupit, et indignis percussit pectora palmis.

Virg. Aen. 1, 481: — Et tunsae pectora palmis

(Zingerle 2, 79).

Il. 19, 284 (Briseis, when she saw Patroclus dead):

— χερσὶ δ' ἄμυσσεν

στήθεά τ' ἥδ' ἀπαλὴν δεξιὴν ἰδὲ καλὰ πρόσωπα.

See *Ep. 12, 153* and note. Such expressions were common in the Greek tragedies.

Ov. H. 10, 18:

Quod videant oculi. nil nisi litus habent.

Cf. vs. 20: alta harena.

Cf. Cat. 64, 57:

Desertam in sola miseram se cernat harena.

Cf. Trist. 3, 471:

En iterum, fluctus, similis audite querellas!

En iterum lacrimas accipe harena, meas!

*vs. 479: Quid mihi desertis perituram, Liber, harenis,
Servabas'.*

A. A. 1, 527: Gnosis in ignotis amens errabat harenis.

Ov. H. 10, 21:

Interea toto clamanti litore 'Theseu!'

Cf. Cat. 64, 124:

*Saepe illam perhibent ardenti corde furem
Clarisonas imo fudisse e pectore voces.*

(Cf. Cat. 64, 69.) A. A. 1, 531:

Thesea crudelem surdas clamabat ad undas.

Ov. H. 10, 25:

*Mons fuit. apparent frutices in vertice rari:
Nunc scopulus raucis pendet adesus aquis:
Ascendo. Vires animus dabat: atque ita late
Aequora prospectu metior alta meo.*

Cf. Cat. 64, 126:

*Ac tum praeruptos tristem conscendere montes,
Unde aciem in pelagi vastos protenderet aestus.*

Ep. 2, 121:

*Maesta tamen scopulos fruticosaque culmina calco,
Quaeque patent oculis litore lata meis.*

Ep. 5, 61:

*Aspicit inmensum moles nativa profundum.
Mons fuit. Aequareis illa resistit aquis.*

Ep. 18, 29:

Rupe sedens aliqua specto tua litora tristis.

Ep. 13, 17:

*Dum potui spectare virum, spectare iuvabat:
Sumque tuos oculos usque secuta meis.*

Ov. H. 29: See vs. 117 (Note).

Ov. H. 10, 30:

Vidi praecipiti carbasa tenta noto.

Cat. 64, 53:

Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe tuetur.

*vs. 60: Quem procul ex alga maestis Minois ocellis
— prospicit.*

Ov. H. 10, 31:

Aut vidi aut tamquam tamquam quae me vidisse putarem.

Cf. Cat. 64, 55:

Necdum etiam sese quae visit visere credit.

Loers compares Virg. Aen. 6, 451 (Aeneas sees the shade of Dido): — quam Troius heros

Ut primum iuxta stetit adgnovitque per umbras

Obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense

Aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam.

and Ap. Rh. 4, 1478:

ἣ ἶδεν, ἣ ἐδόκησεν ἐπαχλύουσαν ἰδέσθαι.

Ov. H. 10, 34:

Excitor et summa Thesea voce voco.

'Quo fugis?' exclamo 'scelerate revertere Theseu'.

Cf. Cat. 64, 132:

'Siccine me patriis avectam, perfide, ab aris,

Perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu?'

Trist. 3, 473:

Dicebam, memini, "periure et perfide Theseu!"

Ov. H. 10, 42: *Scilicet oblitos admonitura mei*

Cf. Cat. 64, 58:

Inmemor at iuvenis fugiens pellit vada remis.

Ov. H. 10, 47: *Aut ego diffusis erravi sola capillis.*

Cf. Cat. 64, 63:

Non flavo retinens subtilem vertice mitram.

Ov. H. 10, 48:

Qualis ab Ogygio concita Baccha deo:

Aut mare prospiciens in saxo frigida sedi,

Quamque lapis sedes, tam lapis ipsa fui.

Cf. Cat. 64, 61:

Saxea ut effigies bacehantis, prospicit, eheu!

I cannot but see an intentional correction of Catullus here by Ovid in making two comparisons out of one by the separation of the Bacchante from the stone.

The Bacchantefigure, however, is common enough. Cf. Ep. 4, 47:

Nunc feror, ut Bacchi furiis Eleleides actae.

Ep. 13, 33:

Ut quas pampinea tetigisse Bicorniger hasta
Creditor, huc illuc, qua furor egit, eo.

A. A. 1, 312: Fertur, ut Aonio concita baccha deo.

Cf. Virg. Aen. 4, 300.

Ov. H. 10, 50:

Quamque lapis sedes, tam lapis ipsa fui.

Cf. Ennius fr. 66: — sed quasi ferrum aut lapis
durat, rarenter gemitum conatur trahens.

Virg. Aen. 6, 469:

Illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat,
Nec magis incepto voltum sermone movetur,
Quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.

Ov. Met. 13, 539:

Et pariter voces lacrimasque introrsus obortas
Devorat ipse dolor, duroque simillima saxo
Torpet, et adversa figit modo lumina terra.

Prop. 1, 16, 29:

Sit licet et saxo patientior illa Sicano —

Eur. Med. 28: — ὥς δὲ πέτρος ἢ θαλάσσιος
κλύθων ἀκούει νοουθετουμένη φίλων.

Cf. Ov. Am. 1, 7, 51, Met. 3, 419. (Some of these may
be found in Washietl, p. 151.)

Ov. H. 10, 53: Cf. Ep. 15, 149.

Ov. H. 10, 59: *Quid faciam? quo sola ferar?*

Cf. Eur. Med. 357: δύστανε γύναι,
φεῦ φεῦ μελέα τῶν σῶν ἀχέων,
ποῦ ποτε πρέψει; τίνα προξενίαν,
ἢ δόμον, ἢ χθόνα σωτήρα κακῶν
ἔξευρήσεις;

vs. 440: σοὶ δ' οὔτε πατρὸς δόμοι,
δύστανε, μεθορμίσασθαι
μόχθων πάρα.

Ov. H. 10, 60:

*Non hominum video, non ego facta boum.
Omne latus terrae cingit mare. navita nusquam,
Nulla per ambiguas puppis itura vias.*

Cf. Cat. 64, 168:

*Nec quicquam apparet vacua mortalis in alga.
vs. 184: Praeterea nullo litus, sola insula, tecto,
Nec patet egressus pelagi cingentibus undis:
Nulla fugae ratio, nulla spes: omnia muta,
Omnia sunt deserta, ostendant omnia letum.*

Hm. Od. 10, 98:

ἔνθα μὲν οὔτε βοῶν, οὔτ' ἀνδρῶν φαίνεται ἔργα. (Loers.)

Virg. Georg. 1, 118: — hominumque boumque labores.

Ap. Rh. 4, 1282: — ἥ τίς τιν' ὄμβρον

ἄσπετον, ὅστε βοῶν κατὰ μνηρία ἔκλυσεν ἔργα.

Ov. H. 10, 64:

Quid sequar? Accessus terra paterna negat.

Cf. Cat. 64, 177:

*Nam quo me referam? quali spe perdita nitor?
vs. 180: An patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui?*

Ov. H. 10, 65:

*Ut rate felici pacata per aequora labar,
Temperet ut ventos Aeolus, exul ero.*

Cf. Eur. Med. 255:

*ἐγὼ δ' ἔρημος, ἄπολις οὐς' ὑβρίζομαι
πρὸς ἀνδρός, ἐκ γῆς βαρβάρων λελησμένη,
οἱ μητέρ', οὐκ ἀδελφόν, οὐχὶ συγγενῇ
μεθορμίσασθαι τῆσδ' ἔχονσα συμφορᾶς.*

Ov. H. 10, 67: — Crete centum digesta per urbes.

The hundred cities of Crete were often mentioned. *Cf. Il. 2,
649: Κρήτην ἐκατόμπολιν. (but Od. 19, 174: ἐννήκοντα πόλεις.)
(Loers.)*

Virg. Aen. 3, 104:

*Creta Jovis magni medio iacet insula ponto,
Mons Idaeus ubi et gentis cunabula nostrae.
Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna.*

Hor. Epod. 9, 29:

Aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbibus.

Eur. fr. 475, 3: Κρήτης ἑκατομπολιέθρον.

Ov. H. 10, 68: (Crete) — *puero cognita terra Jovi*.

I strongly suspect that Ovid had in mind the first hymn of Callimachus.

Cal. Hymn. 1, 4 (εἰς Αἴα):

πῶς καὶ νῦν, Λικταῖον αἰέσομεν ἢ Λυκαῖον;
ἐν δοιῇ μάλα θυμός, ἐπεὶ γένος ἀμφήριστον.
Zeῦ, σὲ μὲν Ἰθαίοισιν ἐν οὔρασί φασι γενέσθαι,
Zeῦ, σὲ δ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ· πότεροι, πάτερ, ἐψεύσαντο;
•Κρῆτες αἰεὶ ψεύσται. Καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σέτο
Κρῆτες ἐτεκτῆραντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἔσοι γὰρ αἰεὶ.
ἐν δέ σε Παρρασίη· Ρεῖη τέκεν —

vs. 33: — Νέδῃ δέ σε δῶκε κομίσσαι

κενθμόν· ἔσω Κρηταῖον, ἵνα κρύφα παιδεύοιο πτλ.

I find my suspicion supported by Ovid Am. 3, 10, 19:

Cretes erunt testes. nec fingunt omnia Cretes.

Crete, nutrito terra superba Iove.

Cf. •Κρῆτες αἰεὶ ψεύσται, above.

Cf. A. A. 1, 297:

Nota cano. non hoc, centum quae sustinet urbes,

Quamvis sit mendax, Creta negare potest.

Met. 8, 99: Jovis incunabula Creten.

(On Callimachus, as the source of certain parts of Ovid,
cf. Gustav Plaehn* p. 20 ff.)

Ov. H. 10, 69:

At pater et tellus iusto regnata parenti

Prodita sunt facto, nomina cara, meo.

* De Nicandro aliisque poetis Graecis ab Ovidio in Metamorphosis
conscribendis adhibitis.

Cf. Eur. Med. 31:

αὐτὴ πρὸς αὐτὴν πατέρ' ἀποιμώζη φίλον
καὶ γαῖαν οἴκους θ' οἷς προδοῦς' ἀφίκετο
μετ' ἀνδρὸς ὃς σφε νῦν ἀτιμάσας ἔχει.
ἔγνωκε δ' ἡ τάλαινα συμφορᾷς ὑπο
οἶον πατρῷας μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι χθονός.

vs. 1032: πατρός τε καὶ γῆς προδότην ἣ σ' ἐθρέψατο.

vs. 483: αὐτὴ δὲ πατέρα καὶ δόμους προδοῦς' ἐμouς.

vs. 502: νῦν ποῖ τράπωμαι; πότερα πρὸς πατρός δόμους,
οἷς σοὶ προδοῦσα καὶ πάτρην ἀφικόμεν:

vs. 798: — οὔτε μοι πατρὶς
οὔτ' οἶκός ἐστιν οὔτ' ἀποστροφὴ κακῶν,

Cf. Cat. 64, 116:

Sed quid ego a primo digressus carmine plura
Commemorem, ut linquens genitoris filia vultum etc.

Cf. Met. 8, 113: — Nam quo deserta revertar?

In patriam? superata iacet. Sed finge manere:

Proditione mea clausa est mihi. patris ad ora? etc.

This is about Scylla. There is great similarity in the complaints of these women who have deserted father and home and are now deserted in turn.

Ov. H. 10, 72:

Quae regerent passus, pro duce fila dedi.

Cf. vss. 103—4. Ep. 4, 59:

Perfidus Aegides, ducentia fila sequutus,

Curva meae fugit tecta sororis ope.

Fast. 3, 462:

Quae dedit ingrato fila legenda viro.

This was the common version of the story. See Plut. Thes. c. 19.

Catullus does not say who gave Theseus the thread.

Cat. 64, 113:

Errabunda regens tenui vestigia filo —,

but Virgil says it was Daedalus. Aen. 6, 28:

Magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem

Daedalus, ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,

Caeca regens filo vestigia. (Loers.)

Ov. H. 10, 73:

*Cum mihi dicebas 'per ego ipsa pericula iuro,
Te fore, dum nostrum vivet uterque, meam'.*

Cf. Cat. 64, 139:

*At non haec quondam nobis promissa dedisti
Voce; mihi non haec miserae sperare iubebas,
Sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos,
Quae cuncta aerii discerpunt irrita venti.*

Ov. H. 10, 75: Cf. Ep. 5, 31.

Ov. H. 10, 77:

Me quoque qua fratrem, mactasses, improbe, clava,
Cf. Cat. 64, 150: — et potius germanum amittere crevi.
and vs. 181: Respersum iuvenem fraterna caede secuta.

Ov. H. 10, 90: Neve traham serva grandia pensa manu.

Shuckburgh compares Eur. Bac. 514:

— ἐφ' ἱστοῖς δμῳίδας κερτίζομαι.

Ov. H. 10, 96:

Destituor rapidis praeda cibusque feris.

Cf. Cat. 64, 152:

*Pro quo dilaceranda feris dabor alitibusque
Praeda.*

Ov. H. 10, 99:

*Viveret Androgeos utinam, nec facta luisses
Impia funeribus, Cecropi terra, tuis: etc.*

For Androgeos, cf. Met. 7, 458:

Androgeique necem iustis ulciscitur armis.

Cat. 64, 77:

Androgeoneae poenas exsolvere caedis.

With funeribus, cf. Cat. 64, 81:

*Ipsae suum Theseus pro caris corpus Athenis
Proicere optavit potius quam talia Cretam
Funera Cecropiae nec funera portarentur.*

For general sense, cf. Cat. 64, 171:

Juppiter omnipotens, utinam ne tempore primo
Gnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes,
Indomito nec dira ferens stipendia tauro,
Perfidus in Creta religasset navita funem,
Nec malus hic celans dulci crudelia forma
Consilia in nostris requiesset sedibus hospes.

Cf. Eur. Med. 1: *Ἐξ' ὧφελ' Ἀργεῶς μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος κτλ.*

Ov. *H.* 10, 107:

*Non poterant figi praecordia ferrea cornu:
Ut te non tegeres, pectore tutus eras.
Ille tu silices, illic adamanta tulisti
Ille qui silices, Thesea, vincat, habes.*

Cf. Ep. 1, 58; 3, 33; 7, 37, and notes.

Ov. *H.* 10, 111:

Crudeles somni, quid me tenuistis inertem?

Cf. Cat. 64, 56:

Ut pote fallaci quae tum primum excita sompno.

Ov. *H.* 10, 115: *Crudelis.* Cf. Cat. 64, 136.

Ov. *H.* 10, 117:

In ne iurarunt somnus ventusque fidesque.

Here is a slight discrepancy between Ovid and Catullus. Ovid makes him *sail* away, while according to Catullus, he *rowed*. Cat. 64, 58:

*Inmemor at iuvenis fugiens pellit vada remis,
Inrita ventosae linquens promissa procellae.*

Cf. vs. 183 *remos*.

For *somnus* cf. also Cat. 64, 142:

— *aut it eam devinctam lumina somno
Liquerit inmemori discedens pectore coniunx.*

The *fides* is implied in *inmemor*.

Ov. *H.* 10, 12:

Ossa supertabunt volucres inhumata marinae?

Cf. Prop. 4, 6, 11:

Sed tua nunc volucres astant super ossa marinae.

Cat. 64, 153: — neque iniacta tumulabor mortua terra.

Ov. A. A. 3, 35:

Quantum in te, Theseu, volucres Ariadna marinas
Pavit, in ignoto sola relictâ loco. (Birt.)

Ov. H. 10, 125: *Ibis Cecropios portus* —

Cat. 64, 74: *Egressus curvis e litoribus Piræi.*

Ov. H. 10, 131:

*Nec pater est Aegeus, nec tu Pittheidos Aethrae
Filius, auctores saxa fretumque tui.*

Cf. Cat. 64, 154:

Quaenam te genuit sola sub rupe leaen,
Quod mare conceptum spumantibus exiit undis,
Quae Syrtis, quae Scylla rapax, quae vasta Charybdis —

For further illustration of this passage, see the notes on
Ep. 7, 37.

Ov. H. 10, 137: *Aspice demissos lugentis more capillos.*

Cf. Cat. 64, 63 (already quoted):

Non flavo retinens subtilem vertice mitam.

Ov. Am. 3, 9, 51:

Hinc soror in partem misera cum mate doloris
Venit inornatas dilaniata comas. (Loers.)

A. A. 1, 530 (of Ariadne): — *croceas indigata comas.*

Tib. 1, 3, 8: *Et fleat effusus ante sepulchrâ comis.*

Ov. H. 10, 139:

Corpus ut impulsae segetes aquilonibus horret.

Cf. A. A. 1, 553 (of Ariadne):

Horruit, ut sterilis agitat quas ventis aristas
Ut levis in madida canna palude remit.

Ep. 14, 39: *Ut leni zephyro graciles obrantur aristae,
Frigida populeas ut quatit aura comas.*

Met. 4, 135: *exhorruit aequoris instans*

Quod tremit, exigua cum summa stringitur aura.

Ep. 11, 75:

Ut mare fit tremulum, tenui cum stringitur aura,
Ut quatitur tepido fraxina virga noto.

Am. 1, 7, 54:

Ut cum populeas ventilat aura comas:
Ut leni zephyro gracilis vibratur arundo,
Summave cum tepido stringitur unda noto.

Washietl p. 25 maintains that these all come from Homer,

Il. 7, 63:

οἷη δὲ ζεφύροιο ἐχέιατο πόντον ἔπι φρεῖξ
ὀρνυμένοιο νέον, μελάνει δέ τε πόντος ὑπ' αὐτῆς —

and Il. 2, 144:

κινήθη δ' ἄγορῇ φῆ κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης,
πόντον Ἰκαρίοιο, τὰ μὲν τ' εὐρός τε νότος τε
ᾧρορ' ἐπαῖξας πατρὸς Αἰὸς ἐκ νεφελῶν.
ὥς δ' ὅτε κινήσῃ ζέφυρος βαθὺν λήιον ἐλθών,
λάβρος ἐπαιγίζων, ἐπὶ τ' ἡμῶι ἀσταχύνεσιν,
ὥς τῶν πᾶσ' ἄγορῇ κινήθη.

We have the comparison of the sea again at Il. 4, 422.

Ov. H. 10, 141: Cf. Ep. 7, 177.

Ov. H. 10, 143: — *Si non ego causa salutis* —

Zingerle, 2, 37, compares Lucr. 3, 324:

Custos et causa salutis — Cf. Lucr. 3, 348.

But no great weight is to be laid on such resemblances.

Ov. H. 10, 145:

Has tibi plangendo lugubria pectora lasso
Infelix tendo trans freta longa manus.

Just as in the Dido, so in the Ariadne, Ovid avoids all outbursts of vengeance.

Compare the spirit here with Cat. 64, 188:

Non tamen ante mihi languescent lumina morte,
Nec prius a fesso secedent corpore sensus,
Quam iustam a divis exposeam prodita mulctam,
Caelestumque fidem postrema comprecser hora etc.

Ov. H. 10, 47: maesta.

Cf. Cat. 64, 60: maestis Minois ocellis.

64, 130:

Atque haec extremis maestam dixisse querellis.

Ov. H. 10, 145: Si prius occidero, tu tamen ossa feres.

Cf. Tib. 1, 3, 5:

*Abstineas, Mors atra, precor: non hic mihi mater
Quae legat in maestos ossa perusta sinus,
Non soror, Assyrios cineri quae dedat odores,
Et fleat effusis ante sepulchra comis.*

Cf. Lygd. [Tib. 3] 2, 17:

*Pars quae sola mei superabit corporis, ossa
Incinctae nigra candida veste legent etc. (Loers.)*

Summary to Ep. 10.

The corresponding passages are not so numerous, perhaps, as might have been expected. The closest correspondence is in the following verses: 25 *mons fuit*, 30 *vidi praecipiti carbasa*, 31 *aut vidi aut*, 35 *scelerate, revertere Theseu*, 64 *Quid sequar*, 96 *praeda cibusque feris*, 131 *saxa fretumque*. Even where the facts agree, Ovid's expression is usually independent. For differences, see vss. 48 *Baccha*, 72 *fila dedi*, 117 *ventus*. Many of Ovid's verses have nothing corresponding to them in *Catullus*.

This may be accounted for, at least in part, by the nature of the subject matter. There are comparatively few events; most of the poem is taken up with a description of *Ariadne's* feelings, and in this part of the work we have already found that Ovid is more likely to be independent.

We have already noticed (vs. 146) the absence of the spirit of vengeance, just as in the *Dido*. Ovid's *Heroines* are of a forgiving sort; they are always ready to take the offender back. If he will not come, they pray for their own death rather than his.

As suggestive of other poets the following may be mentioned: 8 *queruntur aves* (*Tib.* and *Hor.*), 59 *quid faciam* (*Eur.*), 60 *facta boum* (*Hm.*), 68 *crete* (*Callim.*), 69 *pater et tellus* (*Eur.*), 123 *volucres marinae* (*Prop.*), 139 *impulsae segetes* (*Hm.*).

Epistle 12 (Medea).*

And now we come to what is in some respects the most interesting of all the letters. Here we are brought at once into the field of tragedy and it will be necessary to notice Ovid's studies in this department. It is interesting to note in this connection that his only tragedy was on this very subject. This tragedy met with considerable success. Cf. Tac. Dial. c. 12: Nec ullus Asinii aut Messallae liber tam inlustris est quam Medea Ovidii aut Varii Thyestes. Also Quintil. 10, 1, 98: Iam Varii Thyestes cuilibet Graecarum comparari potest. Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere, quantum ille vir praestare potuerat, si ingenio suo imperare quam indulgere maluisset.

Ovid speaks more than once of his ambition in this line. Cf. Am. 2, 18, 13:

Sceptra tamen sumpsi, curaque tragoedia nostra
Crevit, et huic operi quamlibet aptus eram.
Risit Amor pallamque meam pictosque cothurnos
Sceptraque privata tam cito sumpta manu.
Hinc quoque me dominae numen deduxit iniquae:
Deque cothurnato vate triumphat Amor etc.

In Am. 3, 1: Elegeia and Tragoedia appear before Ovid as he walks in an old forest and each claims him as her own. The poem ends:

vs. 67: 'Exiguum vati concede, Tragoedia, tempus.
Tu labor aeternus, quod petit illa, breve est.'
Mota dedit veniam, teneri properentur amores,
Dum vacat, a tergo grandius urguet opus.

Cf. Trist. 2, 317:

Cur non Argolicis potius quae concidit armis
Vexata est iterum carmine Troia meo?
Cur tacui Thebas et vulnera mutua fratrum,
Et septem portas, sub duce quamque suo?

* The 12th epistle is briefly treated by Tolkiehn, pp. 79—82. It is also in Zöllner, *Analecta Ovidiana*, but this I have been unable to obtain.

vs. 331:

Forsan — et hoc dubitem — numeris levioribus aptus
 Sim satis, in parvos sufficiamque modos:
 At si me iubeas domitos Iovis igne Gigantes
 Dicere, conantem debilitabit onus.

(Part of this, however, refers rather to epic than to tragic poetry.)

In enumerating his works Ovid mentions the tragedy, *Trist.* 2, 553:

Et dedimus tragicis scriptum regale cothurnis,
 Quaeque gravis debet verba cothurnus habet.

Of the Greek tragedians he mentions only Sophocles. *Am.* 1, 15, 15:

Nulla Sophocleo veniet iactura cothurno.

Still there can be no doubt that he was acquainted with the others, especially Euripides.*

Ehwald, *Jahresbericht über Ovid* (1886—1893) p. 27 says that Ovid's own tragedy was the chief source for this epistle. Cf. Tolkiehn, p. 107. The statement that the tragedy was completed before the *Heroides*, goes back to Masson (see Heuwer p. 43). We have seen above that Ovid was already busying himself with tragedy. There is, however, as far as I know, no proof that the work was already finished.

Again we have to deal with a very old and oft-treated subject. Cf. *Hm. Od.* 12, 70: *Ἀργὸν πᾶσι μέλουσα*,**

By way of illustration, I give the names of a few of those who have written on this subject.

Hesiod, *Theog.* 992 ff. has a short account. The *Ναυπάκτια ἔπη* were partly on this subject. Apollonius Rhodius 1, 18, says that other bards had written on the building of the *Argo*. On Epimenides see *Diog. Laert.* 1, 10, 5: *ἐποίησε δὲ Ἀργοῦς ναυπηγίαν τε καὶ Ἰάσονος εἰς Κόλχους ἀπόπλουν*, *ἔπη ἑξακισχίλια*

* For the use which Ovid made of the tragedies in writing the *Metamorphoses*, see Plaehn, p. 6 ff.

** Strabo 1, 38 ff. discusses Homer's knowledge of the Argonautic expedition.

πεντακόσια. There was an *Argonautica* also by Cleon, said to be the source of Apollonius (cf. Susemihl, *Gesch. Gr. Litt.* 1, 383; schol. *Ap. Rh.* 1, 587). The subject was treated by Antimachus in the *Lyde* (see Rohde *Gr. Rom.* p. 104).

Aeschylus fr. 20 (Nauck):

ποῦ δ' ἐστὶν Ἀργοῦς ἱερὸν, αὔδασον, ξύλον;

Schol. *Ap. Rh.* 1, 769: — *Ἡρόδωρος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναυτικοῖς. Αἰσχίλος δὲ ἐν Ὑψιπύλῃ κτλ.*

Mimnermus, fr. 11 (*Anthol. Lyr. Bergk*):

οὐδέ μοι' ἄν μέγα κῶας ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸς Ἰήσων κτλ.

Pindar, *Pyth.* 4 is on this subject.

Welcker, *Gr. Trag.* 1485, mentions about fifty tragedies on some part or other of the Argonautic myth.

The two most important works that have come down to us on the subject of Medea, are the *Medea* of Euripides and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius. On general principles we should probably be safe in assuming that Ovid was familiar with both these works. It is absurd to suppose that he would attempt to write a *Medea* tragedy without reading the *Medea* of Euripides, and it is probable, as we have seen that he had already written at least a part of his tragedy.* The tragedy of *Medea* is referred to in *Trist.* 2, 387:

Tingueret ut ferrum natorum sanguine mater,

Concitus a laeso fecit amore dolor.

From the context it is very probable that Euripides is referred to. (Perhaps also vs. 526.) See the whole passage for a list of tragic subjects.

Then the Alexandrian poets were well known and much used at Rome. Servius on *Virg. Aen.* 4, 1 says: *Apollonius Argonautica scripsit et in tertio inducit amantem Medeam: unde totus hic liber translatus est.*

One other author deserves especial mention among the probable sources of Ovid. If the *Argonautae* of Varro Atacinus

* We are, of course, not justified in assuming the same sources for an author when he writes on the same subject at different times. Still, evidence derived from a comparison of the different works may possess some value and I have already used it in the *Ariadne*.

had survived, I should feel great confidence in expecting to find traces of the use of this work by Ovid. Varro's work was divided into four books like that of Apollonius, whom he probably followed pretty closely. That, however, he was not wholly dependent on Apollonius is indicated by Servius on *Virg. Aen.* 10, 396, who cites a verse which Varro took unchanged from Ennius.

Ovid seems to have entertained a very high opinion of Varro. Cf. *Am.* 1, 15, 21:

Varronem primamque ratem quae nesciet aetas,
Aureaque Aesonio terga petita duci.

In *A. A.* 3, 335 he mentions him again:

Dictaque Varroni fulvis insignia villis
Vellera, germanae, Phrixæ, querenda tuae.

and *Trist.* 2, 439:

Is quoque, Phasiacas Argon qui duxit in undas,
Non potuit Veneris furta tacere suae.

Cf. *Prop.* 3, 32, 85:

Haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro,
Varro Leucadiae maxima flamma suae.

If Varro followed Apollonius closely, we might very easily make a mistake in referring a passage to Apollonius where Ovid was using Varro. It is, however, not at all probable that Ovid neglected Apollonius.

It seems not improbable that Ovid made some use also of the *Πιζοτόμοι* of Sophocles. Macrobius *Sat.* 5, 19, 9 thinks that Virgil used this play. His words, (quoted by Nauck,) are:

"Haec res nonne quaestione digna est, unde Vergilio aeneae falces in mentem venerint? ponam itaque Vergilianos versus, mox et inde Sophoclis quos Maro aemulatus est."

'Falcibus et messae ad lunam quaerunter aenis
pubentes herbae nigri cum lacte veneni.'

Sophoclis autem tragoedia id de quo quaerimus etiam titulo praefert; inscribitur enim *Πιζοτόμοι*, in qua Medeam describit maleficas herbas secantem, sed aversam, ne vi moxii odoris ipsa interficeretur, et sucum quidem herbarum in cados aeneos refun-

dentem, ipsas autem herbas aeneis falcibus execantem. Sophoclis versus hi sunt:

ἡ δ' ἔξοπίσω χερὸς ὄμμα τρέπονσ'
ὅπιν ἀργινεφῇ στάζουσα τομῆς
χαλκίοισι κάδοις δέχεται

et paulo post

αἱ δὲ καλύπτραι
κίσται ῥιζῶν κρύπτουσι τομάς,
ἃς ἦδε βοῶσ' ἀλαλαζομένη
γυμνὴ χαλκίοις ἤμα δρεπάνοις.*

For γυμνὴ cf. Ov. Met. 7, 183:

Nuda pedem, nudis umeros infusa capillis.

For χαλκίοις ἤμα δρεπάνοις cf. Ov. Met. 7, 227:

Partim succidit curvamine falcis aenae.

For βοῶσ' cf. Ov. Met. 7, 190:

— ternisque ululatibus ora
Solvit.

For χαλκίοισι κάδοις cf. Ov. Met. 7, 262:

Interea valido posito medicamen aeno
Fervet.

I am inclined to think that this part of Ovid had for its main source the play of Sophocles.*

The fragment quoted below, *Ἥλιε δέσποτα κτλ.*, (see note on Ov. H. 12, 78), would not go far towards proving that Ovid used the play in this epistle. We must rest the case on general probability.

Ovid treats this subject again in Met. 7, 1—424.

Examination of the letter.

Ov. H. 12, 3:

*Tunc quae dispensant mortalia fata sorores
Debuerant fusos evoluisse meos.*

* I learn from Plaehn p. 10 that Welcker, (1, 342) held a similar opinion. Plaehn, however, prefers to look to Euripides as the source of the whole story.

Cf. Ap. Rh. 3, 772: — ὥς ὄφελόν γε

Ἀρτέμιδος κραυπνοῖσι πάρος βελέσσει δαμῆναι,
πρὶν τόνγ' εἰσιδέειν, πρὶν Ἀχαιίδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι
Χαλκιόπης νῆας· τοὺς μὲν θεὸς ἢ τις Ἑρινὺς
ἄμμι πολυκλαύτους δεῦρ' ἤγαγε κεῖθεν ἀνίας.

For the Parcae, Loers compares Hes. Theog. 904:

Μοῖρας θ', ἧς πλείστην τιμὴν πόρε μητιέτα Ζεὺς,
Κλωθῶ τε Λάχεσιν τε καὶ Ἀτροπον, αἵτε διδοῦσι
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχειν ἀγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε.

Also vs. 217 and Scut. 258.

Also Il. 20, 127:

— ἵστερον αὐτε τὰ πείσεται ἄσσα οἱ αἶσα
γνομένη ἐπένησε λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ

and 24, 209: — τῷ δ' ὥς ποθι μοῖρα κραταιή
γνομένη ἐπένησε λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκον αὐτή,

Cf. Virg. Aen. 10, 71: — Et iam sua Turnum
Fata vocant, metasque dati pervenit ad aevi.

Cat. 64, 327 (the refrain):

Currite ducentes subtegmina, currite, fusi.

(For the manner of spinning, cf. Cat. 64, 311 ff.)

Virg. Ecl. 4, 46:

Talia saecla suis dixerunt currite fuis
Concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae.

Tib. 1, 7, 1:

Hunc cecinere diem Parcae fatalia nentes
Stamina non ulli dissolvenda deo.

Ov. *H.* 12, 5:

Tum potui Medea mori bene.

Cf. Ap. Rh. 3, 997:

ὦ μοι ἐμῆς ἄτης. ἦ τ' ἂν τολὸν κέρδιον εἴη
τῇδ' αὐτῇ ἐν νυκτὶ λιπεῖν βίον ἐν θαλάμοισιν
πότμῳ ἀνωίστῳ, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα πάντα φυγοῦσαν,
πρὶν τὰδε λωβήεντα καὶ οἶκ' ὀνομαστὰ τελέσσαι.

Ov. H. 12, 7 (cf. vs. 121):

*Ei mihi! cur umquam iuvenalibus acta lacertis
Phrixeam petiit Pelias arbor ovem?
Cur umquam Colchi Magnetida vidimus Argon,
Turbaque Phasiacam Graia bibistis aquam?*

Cf. Eur. Med. 1:

*Εἴθ' ὦφελ' Ἀργοῦς μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος
Κόλχων ἐς αἶαν κνανέας Συμπληγάδας,
μηδ' ἐν νάπαισι Πηλίου πεσεῖν ποτε
τμηθεῖσα πεύκη, μηδ' ἐρετμῶσαι χέρας
ἀνδρῶν ἀριστέων οἷ τὸ πάγχρυσον δέρος
Πελία μετῆλθον —* (Micyllus ap. Loers.)

Ap. Rh. 4, 33: — αἶθε σε πόντος,

ξείνε, διέρραισεν πρὶν Κολχίδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι.

Cat. 64, 171: — Utinam ne tempore primo

Gnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes.

Virg. Aen. 4, 657: — Si litora tantum

Numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae

Ov. H. 12, 11:

*Cur mihi plus aequo flavi placuere capilli
Et decor et linguae gratia fictu tuae?*

Cf. Ep. 20, 57. Also vs. 35 (below) and note.

Ap. Rh. 3, 1016:

*τοῖος ἀπὸ ξανθοῦτο καρήατος Αἰσονίδαο
στράπτειν Ἔρωσ ἠδεῖαν ἀπο φλόγα· τῆς δ' ἀμαρυγᾶς
ὀφθαλμῶν ἥρπαζεν· λαίνοιο δὲ φρένας εἴσω
τηχομένη, οἷόν τε περὶ ῥοδέησιν ἔερση
τίμεται ἠώοισιν λαινομένη φάεσσιν.*

vs. 1014: καὶ νῦ κέ οἱ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπο στηθέων ἀρύσασα
ψυχὴν ἐγγυάλιξεν ἀγαιομένη χατέοντι

vs. 1139: ἥ δ' οὐπω κομιδῆς μιμνήσκετο, τέρπετο γάρ οἱ
θυμὸς ὁμῶς μορφῇ τε καὶ αἰμυλίοισι λόγοισιν

vs. 1150: ψυχὴ γὰρ νεφέεσσι μεταχρονίη πεπότητο.

With vs. 12 (above) Palmer compares Eur. Med. 582:

γλώσση γὰρ αὐχῶν τᾶδικ' εὔ περιστελεῖν.

ξανθός (flavus) is a very common adjective applied to the heroes and heroines. I find, for instance, about thirty examples in Beatson's lexicon to Euripides.

On the adjective see Sittl's note on Hes. Theog. 947. Still I should have been surprised if I had found that Ovid used the word without authority. It is strange how some of these expressions are handed down. Cf., for instance, Hes. Theog. 947 ξανθὴν Ἀριάδην and Cat. 64, 63 (on Ariadne):

Non flavo retinens subtilem vertice mitram.

Cf. Ov. A. A. 1, 530: — croceas—comas.

Ov. H. 12, 15:

Isset anhelatos non praemedicatus in ignes
Immemor Aesonides oraue adunca boum,
Semina sevisset, totidem sevisset et hostes,
Et caderet cultu cultor ab ipse suo.

Cf. Ap. Rh. 3, 777 (Medea is debating whether to save him or not):

φθίσθω ἀεθλεύων, εἰ οἱ κατα νειὸν ὀλέσθαι
μοῖρα πέλει.

See vs. 1028 ff. for the method of medicating.

vs. 1298 ff. for the contest.

Ov. H. 12, 19:

Quantum perfidiae tecum, scelerate, perisset.

Cf. Eur. Med. 451: — μὴ πάνση ποτὲ

λέγουσ' Ἰάσων ὥς κάκιστός ἐστ' ἀνὴρ.

Cf. vs. 465: ὦ παγκάκιστε, τοῦτο γάρ σ' εἶπεν ἔχω

γλώσση μέγιστον εἰς ἀνανδρίαν κακόν,

ἤλθες πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἤλθες ἐχθιστος γεγώς;

Med. 488: ὦ κάκιστ' ἀνδρῶν

1323: ὦ μῖσος, ὦ μέγιστον ἐχθίστη γύναι

θεοῖς τε καὶ μοῖαι παντὶ τ' ἀνθρώπων γένει.

Such expressions are very common in Euripides. *Improbe* and *scelerate* are also quite common in these letters. Cf. Ep. 2, 17; 2, 29; 6, 145; 7, 133; 10, 35; 19, 57.

Ov. H. 12, 21:

Est aliqua ingrato meritum exprobrare voluptas.

Cf. Eur. Med. 473:

ἐγὼ τε γὰρ λέξασα, κουφισθήσομαι
ψυχὴν κακῶς σε καὶ σὺ λυπήσει κλύων. (Palmer.)

Cf. Trist. 4, 3, 37.

Ov. H. 12, 27: *Hic Ephyaen bimarem.*

Cf. Met. 5, 407; 7, 405; Fast. 4, 501.

(Ephyre, an old name for Corinth.)

On Hor. O. 1, 7, 2:

Aut Epheson bimarise Corinthi.

Maclean remarks: "I am not aware that any writers except Horace and Ovid, who imitated many of Horace's expressions, used the word 'bimaris', which is equivalent to ἀμφιθάλασσον as Xenophon calls Athens (Vect. 1, 7) and to διθάλασσος."

Ov. H. 12, 30:

Et premitis pictos corpora Graia toros.

Cf. Virg. Aen. 1, 708: — toris iussi discumbere pictis.

Ov. H. 12, 31:

Tunc ego te vidi, tunc coepi scire quis esses.

Ap. Rh. 3, 284 ("Ερως):

ἦκ' ἐπὶ Μηδείῃ τὴν δ' ἀμφασίη λάβε θυμόν κτλ.

Ov. H. 12, 32:

Illa fuit mentis prima ruina meae.

Cf. Ep. 7, 93: *Illa dies nocuit etc.*

Ap. Rh. 3, 638: — περί μοι ξείνῳ φρένες ἡερέθονται.

Ov. H. 12, 33: *Et vidi et perii.*

Ap. Rh. 3, 444: — ἐπ' αὐτῷ δ' ὄμματα κόρυη

λοῖζα παρα λιπαρὴν σχομένη θηεῖτο καλύπτρην,

κ' ὅ ἄχεϊ σμύχουσα νόος δέ οἱ ἦντ' ὄνειρος

ἐρπύζων πεπότητο μετ' ἵχνια νεισομένοιο.

That it was a case of love at first sight was probably the

story in all forms. There was no time or opportunity for any other sort.

Heins, wishing to read *ut* — *ut*, compares *Il.* 19, 16:

ὥς εἶδ' ὥς μιν μαῖλλον ἔδν χόλος.

and *Theoc. Id.* 3, 41: ἃ δ' Ἀταλάντα

ὥς ἶδεν, ὥς ἐμάνη, ὥς ἐς βαθὺν ἄλλει' ἔρωτα

and *Virg. Ecl.* 8, 41:

Ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error.

Ov. H. 12, 33: (2nd part): — *nec notis ignibus arsi.*

Cf. Met. 7, 13: — 'mirumque, nisi hoc est,

Aut aliquid certe simile huic, quod amare vocatur'.

Dido is different. *Virg. Aen.* 4, 23:

Adgnosco veteris vestigia flammae.

Ov. H. 12, 34:

Ardet ut ad magnos pinea taeda deos.

Cf. Ep. 7, 23 (note).

The figure in Apollonius is different.

3, 291: ὥς δὲ γυνὴ μαλαρῶ περι κάρφεα χεῖατο δαλῶ
 χερνῆτις, τῇ περ ταλασῆα ἔργα μέμηλεν,
 ὥς κεν ὑπωρόφιον νύκτωρ σέλας ἐντύναντο,
 πάγχυ μάλ' ἐγρομένη· τὸ δ' ἀθέσφατον ἔξ ὀλίγοιο
 δαλοῦ ἀνεγρόμενον συν κάρφεα πάντ' ἀμαθύνει·
 τοῖος ὑπο κραδίῃ ἐλλυμένος αἶθετο λάθρη
 οὔλος ἔρως.

Ov. H. 12, 35: *Et formosus eras.*

Ap. Rh. 3, 443:

θεσπέσιον δ' ἐν πᾶσι μετέπρεπεν Αἴσονος υἱὸς
 κάλλει καὶ χαρίτεσσιν.

Pind. Pyth. 4, 217 calls him: κάλλιστον ἀνδρῶν.

vs. 140: ἔκπαγλος.

In vs. 145 he speaks of his hair:

οὐδὲ κομᾶν πλόκαμοι κερθέντες ὄχοντ' ἀγλαοί,
 ἀλλ' ἅπαν νῶτον καταΐθυσσον.

Ap. Rh. 3, 918:

ἐνθ' οὐπω τις τοῖος ἐπὶ προτέρων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν,
οὐθ' ὅσοι ἐξ αὐτοῦ Διὸς γένος, οὐθ' ὅσοι ἄλλων
ἀθανάτων ἥρωες ἀφ' αἵματος ἐβλάστησαν,
οἷον Ἰήσωνα θῆκε Διὸς δάμαρ ἡματι κείνῳ
ἡμὲν ἐσάντα ἰδεῖν ἥδ' ἐ προτιμυθῆσασθαι
τὸν καὶ παπταίνοντες ἐθάμβεον αὐτοὶ ἐταῖροι
λαμπόμενον χαρίτεσσιν.

Ov. Met. 7, 84:

Et casu solito formosior Aesone natus
Illa luce fuit: posses ignoscere amanti.
Spectat, et in vultu veluti tum denique viso
Lumina fixa tenet, nec se mortalia demens
Ora videre putat, nec se declinat ab illo.

Ap. Rh. 3, 955:

αὐτὰρ ὃγ' οὐ μετὰ δηρὸν ἐλδομένη ἐφαάνθη
ὑψόσ' ἀναθρώσκων, ἅτε Σείριος ὤκεανοιο,
ὃς δὴ τοι καλὸς μὲν ἀρίζηλός τ' ἐσιδέσθαι
ἀντέλλει, μήλοισι δ' ἐν ἄσπετον ἦκεν οἰζύν·
ὥς ἄρα τῇ καλὸς μὲν ἐπῆλυθεν εἰσοράασθαι
Αἰσονίδης, κάματον δὲ δυσίμερον ὥρσε φραανθείς.
ἐκ δ' ἄρα οἱ κραδίη στήθεων πέσεν, ὄμματα δ' αὐτῶς
ἤχλυσαν· θερμὸν δὲ παρηίδας εἶλεν ἔρευθος.
γούνατα δ' οὐτ' ὀπίσω, οὐτε προπάρουθεν ἀέτραι
ἔσθενεν, ἀλλ' ὑπένερθε πάγῃ πόδας.

3, 453:

προπρό δ' ἄρ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔτι οἱ ἰνδάλλετο πάντα,
αὐτός θ' οἶος ἔην, οἰοισί τε φάρεσιν ἔστο,
οἷά τ' ἔειψ', ὥς θ' ἔξειτ' ἐπὶ θρόνον, ὥς τε θύραζε
ἦμεν· οὐδέ τιν' ἄλλον· δίσσατο πορφύρουσα
ἔμμεναι ἀνέρα τοῖον· ἐν οὐασί δ' αἰὲν ὀρώρει
αὐδὴ τε μῦθοί τε μελίφρονες, οὓς ἀγόρευσεν.

Chariton 6, 7, 1: καὶ ὁ ἔρως αὐτὸν ἀνεμίμνησκειν οἷους μὲν
ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχει Καλλιρρόη, πῶς δὲ καλὸν τὸ πρόσωπον. Τὰς
τρίχας ἐπῆγει, τὸ βάδισμα, τὴν φωνήν· οἷα μὲν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὰ

δικαστήριον, οἷα δὲ ἔσται, πῶς ἐλάλησε, πῶς ἐσίγησε, πῶς ἤδετο, πῶς ἔκλειψε.

Virg. Aen. 4, 3:

Multa viri virtus animo, multusque recursat
Gentis honos; haerent infixi pectore vultus
Verbaque, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.

Fast. 2, 770 ff.

Ov. H. 12, 35 (2nd part): — *Et me mea fata trahebant.*
For the important part played by the gods in this story, this is the only shadow of a hint in this letter. See the summary to this Epistle.

For the expression cf. Ep. 6, 51:

Certa fui primo — sed me mea fata trahebant.
In *Trist.* 2, 341 Ovid uses the expression of himself:
Non equidem vellem — sed me mea fata trahebant.
Cf. *Met.* 7, 816; 3, 176; *Trist.* 3, 6, 15; Virg. Aen. 2, 34.

Ov. H. 12, 37:

Perfide, sensisti. quis enim bene celat amorem?
Eminet indicio prodita flamma suo.

For the fact, cf. Ap. Rh. 3, 972:

γνώ δέ μιν Αἰσονίδης ἄτη ἐνιπεπτηνίαν
θευμορίη — (But this was later in the story.)

Exactly this idea — that the flame of love is betrayed by its own light — I find only in Ovid. Cf. Ep. 16, 7:

Sed male dissimulo. Quis enim celaverit ignem,
Lumine qui semper proditur ipse suo?

Ep. 16, 236: Sed tamen apparet dissimulatus amor.

In Virg. Aen. 4, 296:

At regina dolos — quis fallere possit amantem?
Praesensit, the point of view is different, of course. With this cf. Ep. 5, 130.

In Ap. Rh. 3, 296, we have the blaze of love causing a flush on the cheeks.

A little closer to Ovid is Phrynichus, fr. 8 (Nauck):

λάμπει δ' ἐπὶ πορφυρέαις παρῆσι φῶς ἔρωτος.

Ov. H. 12, 39:

*Dicitur interea tibi lex, ut dura ferorum
Insolito premeres vomere colla boum.*

Ap. Rh. 3, 404:

δώσω τοι χρύσειον ἄγειν δέρος, ἣν κ' ἐθέλησθα
πειρηθεῖς.

vs. 407: πείρα δέ τοι μένός τε καὶ ἀλκῆς ἔσσειτ' ἄεθλος,
τόν ῥ' αὐτὸς περὶεμι χερσὶν ὀλοόν περ ἔόντα κτλ.

Ov. H. 12, 41:

*Martis erant tauri plusquam per cornua saevi,
Quorum terribilis spiritus ignis erat:
Aere pedes solidi, praetentaque naribus aera.*

Is „*Martis tauri*“ simply an inaccuracy on the part of Ovid?
I am inclined to think so. According to Apollonius, it was the
field that bore the name of Mars, not the bulls. Cf. *Ov. Met. 7, 101:*
Mavortis in arvom. *Ap. Rh. 3, 409:*

δοῖώ μοι πεδίον τὸ Ἀρίον ἀμφινέμονται
ταύρω χαλκόποδε, στόματι φλόγα φυσιώωντες.

vs. 229: τεχνήεις Ἥφαιστος ἐμήσατο θέσκελα ἔργα.
καὶ οἱ χαλκόποδας ταύρους κάμε, χάλκεα δέ σφρων
ἦν στόματ', ἐκ δὲ πυρὸς δεινὸν σέλας ἀμπνέεισκον.

Cf. vs. 495 ff.

Ov. H. 12, 44:

Nigra per adflatus haec quoque facta suos —,
seems to be an addition of Ovid's.

Ov. H. 12, 45:

*Semina praeterea populos genitura iuberis
Spargere devota lata per arva manu,
Qui peterent natis secum tua corpora telis.*

Ap. Rh. 3, 411:

τοὺς ἐλάω ζεύξας στυγελὴν κατα νεῖον Ἄρης
τετράγνον, τὴν αἶψα ταμῶν ἐπὶ τέλσον ἀρότρω
οὐ σπόρον ὀλοῖσιν Ἀηοῦς ἐνιβάλλομαι ἀκτὴν,
ἀλλ' ὄφριος δεινοῖο μεταλδήσκοντας ὑδόντας

ἀνδράσι τευχιστῆσι δέμας. τοὺς δ' αὖθις θαῖζων
 κείρω ἐμῷ ὑπο δουρὶ περισταδὸν ἀντιόωντας,
 ἥριος ζεύγνυμι βόας, καὶ δείελον ὥρην
 παύομαι ἀμήτοιο. σὺ δ' εἰ τάδε τοῖα τελέσσεις,
 αὐτῆμαρ τόδε κῶας ἀποισέαι εἰς βασιλῆος.

Cf. Virg. G. 2, 140.

Ov. H. 12, 49:

*Lumina custodis, succumbere nescia somno,
 Ultimus est aliqua decipere arte labor.
 Dixerat Aeetes.*

This was not one of the conditions and is not properly so classed by Ovid. He so classed it, I fancy, from a desire to abbreviate the original. He was unwilling to omit the dragon and yet he did not care to go to the length of explaining how Aeetes planned treachery after Jason had succeeded in the trials, (Ap. Rh. 4, 7,

παννύχιος δόλον αἰπὺν ἐπὶ σφίσι μητιάσκειν),

and how Hera inspired Medea with fear of the consequences of her acts, (Ap. 4, 11: τῇ δ' ἀλεγεινότατον κραδίη φόβον ἔμβαλεν Ἥρῃ), how she fled from her father's house, went to Jason and begged his protection (Ap. 4, 83), promising to put the serpent to sleep and get him the golden fleece, and how she carried out these promises (Ap. 4, 145 ff.). But that Ovid really followed the form of the story given in Apollonius, is indicated by vss. 107—8:

*Flammea subduxi medicato lumina somno,
 Et tibi quae raperes, vellera tuta dedi.*

Ov. H. 12, 51: — *Maesti consurgitis omnes.*

Ap. 3, 448:

καὶ ῥ' οἱ μὲν ῥα δόμων ἐξήλυθον ἀσχαλόντες.

Ov. H. 12, 53:

*Quam tibi tunc longe regnum dotale Creusae
 Et socer et magni nata Creontis erant?*

*Birt compares Eur. Med. 18:

γάμοις Ἰάσων βασιλικοῖς ἐννάζεται,
γῆμας Κρέοντος παῖδ', ὃς αἰσυνμῇ χθονός.

Cf. Eur. Med. vss. 594, 561, 611, 739.

Ov. H. 12, 57:

Ut positum tetigi thalamo male saucia lectam.

Palmer compares Virg. Aen. 4, 1:

At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura.

Ov. H. 12, 58:

Acta est per lacrimas nox mihi, quanta fuit.

Ap. 3, 670 (of Chalciope): — δια δ' ἔσονται θαμβήσασα
ἐκ θαλάμου θάλαμον δὲ διαμπερές, ᾧ ἐνὶ κόρῃ
κέκλιτ' ἀκηχεμένη, δρῦψεν δ' ἐκάτερθε παρειάς.
ὥς δ' ἴδε δάκρυσιν ὅσσε πεφρυγμένα, φώνησέν μιν
ὦ μοι ἐγώ, Μήδεια, τί δὴ τάδε δάκρυα λείβεις;

Cf. Ap. 3, 750:

ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὐ Μήδειαν ἐπὶ γλυκερὸς λάβεν ὕπνος.
πολλὰ γὰρ Αἰσονίδαο πόθῳ μελεδήματ' ἔγειρεν
δειδυῖαν τάρων κρατερόν μένος κτλ.

vs. 760: δάκρυ δ' ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλέω ῥέειν.

vs. 803: — δεῦε δὲ κόλπους

ἄλληκτον δακρύοισι, τὰ δ' ἔρρεεν ἀσταγὲς αὐτῶς.

Cf. vs. 461: τέρεν δὲ οἱ ἄμφι παρειάς

δάκρυον αἰνοτάτῳ ἔλέω ῥέει κηδοσύνησιν —

But according to Apollonius, Medea did not lie awake the whole night, vs. 616: κόρυγν δ' ἔξ ἀχέων ἀδινὸς κατελώφεεν ὕπνος λέκτρῳ ἀνακλινθεῖσαν. (See the pretty dream through vs. 632.)

It seems, however, that Ovid has abridged the story again and that, according to Apollonius, the vss. 750 ff. (quoted above) belong to the second night.

Cf. Ap. 3, 743: νύξ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἄγεν κνέφας.

* Birt's article: Animadversiones ad Ovidi heroidum Epistulas, is to be found in Rh. M. 32, 386 ff.

With Ovid here cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4, 5:

Nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.

Hor. *O.* 3, 7, 7:

Noctes non sine multis

Insomnis lacrimis agit.

(The expression, however, is too common to need the cumulation of examples.)

Ov. H. 12, 59:

Ante oculos taurique meos segetesque nefandar.

Ante meos oculos pervigil anguis erat.

Cf. *Ex P.* 1, 9, 7:

Ante meos oculos tamquam praesentis imago.

2, 4, 7:

Ante oculos nostros tua nunc, tua semper imago.

Cf. *Ep.* 1, 13.

Ap. 3, 453:

προπρὸ δ' ἄρ' ὀφθαλμῶν ᾗτι οἱ ἰνδάλλετο πάντα.

vs. 459: *τάρβει δ' ἄμφ' αὐτῷ, μή μιν βόες ἰδὲ καὶ αὐτὸς*

Αἰήτης φθίσσειεν· κτλ.

vs. 751: *πολλὰ γὰρ Αἰσονίδαο πόθῳ μελεδήματ' ἔγειρεν*

δειδύσαν ταύρων κρατερόν μένος, οἷσιν ἔμελλεν

φθίσσθαι ἀεικέλη μοῖρην κατα νειὸν Ἰάηρος.

Ov. H. 12, 61: *Hinc amor, hinc timor est.*

Apollonius gives an admirable portrayal of Medea's wavering mind.

3, 646: — *καὶ δὴ λελίητο νέεσθαι*

αὐτοκασιγνήτην δέ, καὶ ἔρκεος οὐδὸν ἄμειψεν.

δὲν δὲ κατ' αὐτόθι μίμνεν ἐνὶ προδόμῳ θαλάμοιο,

αἰδοῖ ἐργομένη· μετα δ' ἐτράπετ' αὐτὶς ὀπίσσω

στρεφθεῖσ'· ἐκ δὲ πάλιν κίεν ἔνδοθεν. ἄψ τ' ἀλέεινεν

ἔσω· τηῖσσι δὲ πόδες φέρον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα·

ἦτοι ὅτ' ἰθύνσειεν, ἔρκε' μιν ἔνδοθεν αἰδώς·

αἰδοῖ δ' ἐργομένην θρασὺς ἡμερος ὀτρύνεσκει.

τρεῖς μὲν ἐπειρήθη, τρεῖς δ' ἔσχετο· τέττατον αὐτὶς

λέκτροισι πρηγῆς ἐνικάππεσεν εἰλιχθεῖσα.

vs. 681 (when Chalciope questioned her):

— δὴν δέ μιν αἰδῶς
παρθενίη κατέρυκεν ἀμείψασθαι μεμανῖαν.
μῦθος δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν οἱ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτης ἀνέτελλεν
γλώσσης, ἄλλοτ' ἐνερθε κατα στήθος πεπότητο.
πολλάκι δ' ἡμερόεν μὲν ἀνα στόμα θῦνεν ἐνισπείν·
φθογγῇ δ' οὐ προύβαινε παροικέρω· διψέ δ' εἶπεν
τοῖα δόλω·

vs. 754: πικρὰ δὲ οἱ κραδίη στηθέων ἐντοσθεν ἔθνιεν,
ἡελίου ὥς τις τε δόμοις ἐνιπάλλεται αἶγλη
ἵδατος ἔξανιοῦσα, τὸ δὴ νέον ἡὲ λέβητι,
ἡς πον ἐν γανλῷ κέχνται· ἡ δ' ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα
ᾠκείη στροφάλιγγι τινάσσεται αἰσσοῦσα·

vs. 765: φῆ δὲ οἱ ἄλλοτε μὲν θελκτήρια φάρμακα ταύρων
δωσέμεν, ἄλλοτε δ' οὔτι· καταφθίσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ
αὐτίκα δ' οὔτ' αὐτὴ θανέειν, οὐ φάρμακα δώσειν,
ἀλλ' αὐτως εἴκηλος ἦν ὀτλησέμεν ἄτην.

Cf. vs. 777 ff.

Ovid's expression is barely suggestion of these contrasts.

The *timor* here must be taken as *fear for Jason*. Cf. *Met.* 7, 16:

Ne pereat, timeo? quae tanti causa timoris?

But Ovid has reproduced the internal debate and in part
very neatly, in *Met.* 7, 10—73.

Ov. H. 12, 62:

Mane erat et thalamo cara recepta soror.

Ap. 3, 670 (Chalciope): — δια δ' ἔσσοντο θαμβήσασα
ἐκ θαλάμον θαλάμον δὲ διαμπερές, ὧ ἐνι κούρη
κέκλιτ' ἀκηχεμένη.

Ov. H. 12, 63:

*Disjectamque comas adversaque in ora iacentem
Invenit.*

Ap. 3, 828: — ξανθὰς μὲν ἀνήγατο χερσὶν ἐθείρας,
αἷ οἱ ἀτημελίη κατακειμένοι ἡρέθοντο.

vs. 855:

λέκτροισι προηγῆς ἐνικάππεσεν εἰλιχθεῖσα.

Ov. H. 12, 64: — *et lacrimis omnia plena meis.*

Ap. 3, 674:

ὦ μοι ἐγώ, Μήδεια, τί δὴ τάδε δάκρυα λείβεις;

Ov. H. 12, 65:

Orat opem Minyis. petit altera et altera habebat.

Ap. 3, 697 (Chalciope speaks):

καὶ δ' αὐτὴ τάδε πάντα μετήλυθον ὀρμαίνουσα,

εἴ τινα συμφράσσαιο καὶ ἀρτύνειας ἀρωγὴν.

vs. 719: οὐκ ἂν δὴ ξείνῳ τλαίης χατέοντι καὶ αὐτῷ

ἢ δόλον, ἢ τινα μῆτιν ἐπιφράσσασθαι ἀέθλον;

vs. 736 (Medea speaks):

ἀλλ' ἴθι, κεῖθε δ' ἐμὴν σιγῇ χάριν, ὄφρα τοκῆας

λήσομαι ἐντύνουσα ὑπόσχεσιν· ἦρι δὲ νηὸν

οἶσομαι εἰς Ἑκάτης θελκτήρια φάρμακα ταύρων.

Ov. H. 12, 67:

Est nemus et piceis et frondibus ilicis atrum,

Vix illuc radius solis adire licet.

As far as I know, the only foundation (in Apollonius) for this dense forest, is the poplar on which the chattering crows sat. 3, 926:

ἔστι δὲ τις πεδίοιο κατα στίβον ἐγγύθι νηοῦ

αἰγαιος φύλλοισιν ἀπειρεσίοις κομώσα.

Ovid repeats in Met. 7, 74:

Ibat ad antiquas Hecates Perseidos aras,

Quas nemus umbrorum secretaque silva tegerat.

Ov. H. 12, 69:

Sunt in eo — fuerunt certe — delubra Dianae.

The temple of Hecate is mentioned several times in Apollonius.

3, 250: — πρὶν δ' οὔτι θάμιζεν

ἐν μεγάροις, Ἑκάτης δὲ πανήμερος ἀμφεπονέτο

νηόν, ἐπεὶ ἥα θεᾶς αὐτὴ πέλεν ἀρήτεια.

vs. 738: — ἦρι δὲ νηὸν

οἶσομαι εἰς Ἑκάτης θελκτήρια φάρμακα ταύρων.

Cf. vs. 914.

Ov. H. 12, 70: Aurea barbarica stat dea facta manu.

This seems to be an addition of Ovid's. In *Ap. 4, 118* we have a golden altar.

ἐγγύθι δ' αἰθαλόεντα πέλεν βωμοῖο θέμεθλα,
ὃν ἴα ποτ' Αἰολίδης Αἰὼν Φυξίῳ εἶσατο Φοῖβος,
ῥέζων κείνο τέρας παγχρόσιον.

Ov. H. 12, 71: Noscis, an exciderunt mecum loca?

Cf. Ep. 2, 105:

Utque tibi excidimus, nullam, puto, Phyllida nosti.
20. 188: Exciderunt animo foedera lecta tuo.

Prop. 4, 19, 1:

Credis eum iam posse tuae meminisse figurae?

4, 24, 20:

Exciderunt surdo tot meo vota Iovi.

Ov. H. 12, 72:

Orsus es infido sic prior ore loqui.

Apollonius, too, makes Jason speak first. See *Ap. 3, 974*.

Ov. H. 12, 73:

*Ius tibi et arbitrium nostrae fortuna salutis
Tradidit, inque tua est vitae morsque manu.*

Ap. 3, 986:

ἀμφοτέρων, ἑκέτης ξείνός τέ τοι ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνω,
χρεῖοι ἀναγκαίῃ γουνούμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἄνευθεν
ὑμείων στονόεντος ὑπέρτερος ἔσομ' ἀέθλου.

Ov. H. 12, 76: Sed tibi servatus gloria maior ero.

Cf. Ov. Met. 7, 49: — perque Pelasgas

Servatrix urbes matrum celebrabere turba.

Ap. 3, 989:

σοὶ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ τίσαιμι χάριν μετόπισθεν ἀρωγῆς,
ἢ θέμις, ὥς ἐπέοικε διάνδιχα ναιετάοντας,
οὔνομα καὶ κακὸν τεύχων κλέος· ὥς δὲ καὶ ὅλλοι
ἦρωες κλήσουσιν ἐς Ἑλλάδα νοστήσαντες.
ἰρώων τ' ἄλοχοι καὶ μητέρες, αἱ νύ που ἦδη
ἰμέας ἡιόνεσσιν ἐφεζόμεναι γοάουσιν.

Eur. Med. 539:

πάντες δέ σ' ἥσθοντ' οὐσαν Ἑλληνες σοφὴν,
καὶ δόξαν ἔσχε· εἰ δὲ γῆς ἐπ' ἑσχατοῖς
ὄροισιν ὤκεις, οὐκ ἂν ἦν λόγος σέθεν.

Ov. H. 12, 78:

*Per genus et numen cuncta videntis avi,
Per triplicis vultus arcanaque sacra Dianae.*

Ap. 3, 984:

πρὸς σ' αὐτῆς Ἑκάτης μειλίσσομαι ἡδὲ τοκίων —

Aesch. fr. 186, 5: ὁ παντόπτας Ἥλιος.

Hm. Od. 12, 323: Ἥελιου, ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει.

Schuckburgh compares Ennius fr. 14:

tuque adeo sol, qui omnes res suspicis.

Cf. Eur. Med. 1251:

ὠ γὰρ τε καὶ παμφαῆς
ἀπτις Ἀελίου —

Virg. Aen. 4, 607:

Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,
Tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno,
Nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes,
Et Dirae ultrices, et di morientis Elissae.

Soph. fr. 490 (from the *Πριζοτόμοι*):

Ἥλιε δέσποτα καὶ πῦρ ἱερὸν,
τῆς εἰνοδίας Ἑκάτης ἔγχος,
τὸ δ' Ὀλύμπου πωλοῦσαι φέρει
καὶ γῆς ναῖονσ' ἱεράς τριόδους.

Virg. Aen. 4, 511:

Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.

Cf. Aen. 6, 247.

Hor. O. 3, 22, 4: Diva triformis.

Chariclides ἐν Ἀλύσει ap. Athen. 7, 125d:

δέσποιν' Ἑκάτα τριόδῳτι,
τρίμορφε τριπρόσωπε.

For the genealogy cf. Hm. Od. 10, 135:

— *ἐνθα δ' ἔναιεν*

Κίρκη ἐνπλόκαμος, δεινὴ θεὸς αὐδήσασα,

αὐτοκασιγνήτη ὀλοόφρονος Αἴηταο·

ἄμφω δ' ἐκγεγάτην φασσιμβρότου Ἑλλίοιο. (Loers.)

For other instances of swearing by divine ancestors cf.

Ep. 2. 37; 3, 53; 8, 117.

(See vs. 191 of this letter.)

Ov. H. 12, 83:

Quod si forte virum non dedignare Pelasgum —

Cf. Ep. 16, 195: — *nec dedignare maritum,*

Rure Therapnaeo nata puella, Phrygem.

Ov. H. 12, 85:

Spiritus ante meus tenues vanescat in auras.

Cf. Hm. Il. 10, 89: — *εἰς' αὐτμή*

ἐν στήθεσσι μένη.

Cf. Ep. 1, 79; Am. 2, 14, 41; Met. 14, 132; Fast. 2, 509;

Ibis 141, Ex P. 2, 117.

(See Zingerle.)

Ov. H. 12, 86:

Quam thalamo, nisi tu, nupta sit ulla meo:

Ap. 3, 1127:

ἡμέτερον δὲ λέχος θαλάμοις ἐνι κουριδίοισιν

πορσυνέεις· οὐ δ' ἄμμε διακρινέει φιλόττος

ἄλλο, πάρος θάνατόν γε μεμορμένον ἀμφικαλύψαι.

Ap. 4, 95:

δαιμονίη, Ζεὺς αὐτὸς Ὀλύμπιος ὄρκιος ἔστω

Ἥρη τε Ζυγίη, Αἰὼς εὐνέτις, ἣ μὲν ἐμοῖσιν

κουριδίην σε δόμοισιν ἐπιστήσεσθαι ἄκοιτιν,

εὐτ' ἂν ἐς Ἑλλάδα γαῖαν ἰκώμεθα νοστήσαντες.

4, 194:

τὴν μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλουσαν ἀνάξομαι οἶκαδ' ἄκοιτιν

κουριδίην.

Notice, however, that Ovid has here made an essential change in the time of these promises. In Apollonius they are all made *after* she had given him the ointment. Cf. Pind. Pyth. 4, 393:

σὺν δ' ἐλαίῳ φαρμακώσαις ἀντίτομα στερεῶν ὀδυνᾶν
 δῶκε χρίεσθαι. καταινῆσάν τε κοινὸν γάμον
 γλυκὺν ἐν ἀλλάλοισι μίξαι.

Ov. H. 12, 87:

Conscia sit Iuno, sacris praefecta maritis.

Cf. Ep. 2, 41:

Iunonemque, toris quae praesidet alma maritis.

Loers compares Prop. 3, 9, 20:

Iuno sacris quae praesidet alma maritis.

and Virg. Aen. 4, 59:

Iunoni ante omnis, cui vincla iugalia curae.

Add Eur. Med. 161: — μεγάλοις ὄρχοις
 ἐνδησαμένα τὸν κατάρατον
 πόσιν.

Ov. H. 12, 88:

Et dea, marmorea cuius in aede sumus.

There is nothing about a marble temple in Apollonius and I am inclined to suspect, especially on account of the position in the verse of *marmorea* and *in aede*, that the expression was transferred from Ep. 7, 99:

Est mihi marmorea sacratus in aede Sychaeus,
 where we found Virg. Aen. 4, 457 to be the source.

For marble temples cf. also Virg. Aen. 6, 69:

*Tum Phoebo et Triviae solido de marmore templum
 Instituum.*

Virg. G. 3, 13:

*At viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam
 Propter aquam.*

Ov. H. 12, 89:

*Haec animum — et quota pars haec sunt? — movere puellae
 Simplicis, et dextrae dextera iuncta meae.
 Vidi etiam lacrimas. an pars est fraudis in illis?
 Sic cito sum verbis capta puella tuis.*

Cf. Ep. 2, 31:

Iura, fides ubi nunc, commissaque dextera dextrae.

Ep. 2, 49:

Credidimus blandis, quorum tibi copia, verbis:

Credidimus generi numinibusque tuis:

Credidimus lacrimis. an et hae simile docentur?

Hae quoque habent artes, quaque iubentur eunt?

Dis quoque credidimus etc.

Cf. Ap. 3, 1139: — *τέρπετο γάρ οἱ*

θυμὸς ὁμῶς μορφῇ τε καὶ αἰμυλίοισι λόγοισιν.

Ovid has here made changes. In Apollonius, she carries him the ointment before there is any hint of a promise of marriage. She resolves to save him, not on account of his promises as in Ovid, but in spite of the disastrous consequences to herself which she foresees — the infamy of betraying her own house and parents.

Cf. Ap. 3, 785: — *ὁ δ' ἐμῇ λότῃσι σαωθεὶς*

ἄσκηθῆς, ἵνα οἱ θυμῷ φίλον, ἔνθα νέοιτο.

ἀντάρ ἐγὼν ἀντῆμαρ, ὅτ' ἐξανύσειν ἄεθλον

τεθναίνην κτλ through 800.

Ovid gives substantially the same story as here, in Met. 7, 94:

— per sacra triformis

Ille deae, lucoque foret quod numen in illo,

Perque patrem soceri cernentem cuncta futuri,

Eventusque suos et tanta pericula iurat.

Creditus accepit cantatas protinus herbas,

Edidicitque usum — cf. vs. 45:

Et dabit ante fidem. cogamque in foedera testes

Esse deos.

Ov. H. 12, 93:

Iungis et acripedes inadusto corpore tauros

Et solidum iusso comere findis humum,

Arva venenatis pro semine dentibus implet:

Nascitur et gladios scutaque miles habet.

Cf. Eur. Med. 476:

ἔσωσά σ', ὡς ἴσασιν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι
ταῦτόν συνεισέβησαν Ἰργῶν σκάφος,
πεμφθέντα τάντων πυρπνύων ἐπεστάτην
ζεύγλαισι, καὶ σπεροῦντα θανάσιμον γόνυν·

For an account of the contest see Ap. 3, 1277 ff.

Ov. H. 12, 97:

*Ipsa ego, quae dederam medicamina, pallida sedi,
Cum vidi subitos arma tenere viros:*

Ovid repeats this thought in Met. 7, 134:

*Ipsa quoque extimuit, quae tutum fecerat illum,
Utque peti vidit iuvenem tot ab hostibus unum,
Palluit et subito sine sanguine frigida sedit.*

Ov. H. 12, 101:

*Insonor ecce vigil squamis crepitantibus horrens,
Sibilat, et torto pectore verrit humum.*

Cf. Virgil's description of a serpent, Aen. 5, 277:

— ardensque oculis, et sibila colla
Arduus attollens.

Ap. 4, 127:

αὐτὰρ ὁ ἀντικρὺ περιμήκεα τείνετο δειρὴν
ὄξυν ἀνπνοιῖσι προῖδὼν ἱφίς ὀφθαλμοῖσιν
νεισομένων, ῥοίζει δὲ πελώριον.

vs. 143: ὥς τότε κείνο πέλωρον ἀπειρεσίας ἐλέλιξεν
ῥυμβόνας ἀζαλέησιν ἐπηρεφείας φολίδεσσιν.

Ov. H. 12, 103:

Dotis opes ubi erant? ubi erat tibi regia coniunx?

Tib. 2, 3, 30 is compared by some commentators:

Delos ubi nunc, Phoebe, tua est, ubi Delphica Python?

Ov. H. 12, 105:

Illa ego, quae tibi sum nunc denique barbara facta.

Cf. Eur. Med. 536:

πρῶτον μὲν Ἑλλάδ' ἀντὶ βαρβάρου χθονὸς
γαῖαν κατοικεῖς καὶ δίκην ἐπίστασαι
νόμοις τε χρῆσθαι μὴ πρὸς ἰσχύος χάριν.

vs. 1330: βαρβάρου τ' ἀπὸ χθονός κτλ.

1339: οὐκ ἔστιν ἥτις τοῦτ' ἂν Ἑλληνὶς γυνή
ἔτλη ποθ' κτλ.

Ov. H. 12, 106:

Nunc tibi sum pauper, nunc tibi visa nocens

Birt compares Eur. Med. 561:

πένητα φεύγει πᾶς τις ἐκποδὼν φίλος.

Ov. H. 12, 107:

Flammea subluxi medicato lumina somno,

Et tibi, quae raperes, vellera tuta dedi.

Eur. Med. 480:

δράκοντά θ', ὅς πάγχρυσον ἀμφέπων δέρας
σπείραις ἔσωζε πολυπλόκοις ἄπνους ὦν,
κτείνας' ἀνέσχον σοὶ φάος σωτήριον.

Ap. 4, 146:

Ὑπνον ἀσσοσητῆρα, θεῶν ὕπατον, καλέουσα
ἡδεῖη ἐνοπῇ, θέλξαι τέρας

vs. 149: — αὐτὰρ ὄγ' ἦδη

οἴμῃ θελγόμενος δολιχὴν ἀνελίει' ἄκανθαν κτλ.

vs. 156: ἡ δέ μιν ἀρκεύθοιο νέον τετμηότι θαλλῷ

βάπτουσ' ἐκ κυκεῶνος ἀκήρατα φάρμακ' αἰοιδαῖς
ῥαῖνε κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν· περὶ τ' ἀμφὶ τε νήριτος ὀδμή
φαρμάκου ὕπνον ἔβαλλε κτλ.

vs. 162: ἐνθα δ' ὁ μὲν χρύσειον ἀπο δρυὸς αἶνυτο κῶας,

κούρης κεκλομένης· ἡ δ' ἔμπεδον ἐστηνῖα
φαρμάκῳ ἔψηχεν θηρὸς κάρη.

Ov. H. 12, 109:

Proditus est genitor, regnum patriamque reliqui.

Ap. 4, 361:

πάτριν τε κλέα τε μεγάρων αὐτούς τε τοκῆας
νοσφισάμην, τά μοι ἦεν ὑπέρτατα κτλ.

Eur. Med. 31:

αὐτὴ πρὸς αὐτὴν πατέρ' ἀποιμώξῃ φίλον
καὶ γαῖαν οἴκου θ', οὓς προδοῦσ' ἀφίκετο

μετ' ἀνδρὸς ὅς σφε νῦν ἀτιμάσας ἔχει
 ἔγνωκε δ' ἡ τάλαινα συμφορᾷς ὑπο
 οἶον πατρώας μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι χθονός.

798: — οὔτε μοι πατρὶς

οὔτ' οἶκός ἐστιν οὔτ' ἀποστροφὴ κακῶν.

1332: πατρός τε καὶ γῆς προδότιν ἧ σ' ἐθρόεψατο.

(Jason himself reproaches her with this).

Birt compares Eur. Med. 255:

ἐγὼ δ' ἔρημος ἄπολις οὐσ' ὑβρίζομαι
 πρὸς ἀνδρός, ἐκ γῆς βαρβάρων λελησμένη,
 οὐ μητέρ', οὐκ ἀδελφόν, οὐχὶ συγγενῇ
 μεθορμίσασθαι τῇσδ' ἔχουσα συμφορᾷς.

(See Ep. 10, 169 where some additional examples are given.)

Ov. H. 12, 112:

Optima cum cara matre relictæ soror.

Cf. Ep. 17, 231:

Non erat Aetes, ad quem despecta rediret,
 Non Idyia parens Chalciopeque soror.

For Idyia (*Εἰδυῖα*) cf. Ap. 3, 243.

For Chalciope cf. especially Ap. 3, 727 ff.

Cf. Ap. 4, 30:

τόνδ' ἐπεὶ ἀντ' ἐμέθεν ταναὸν πλόκον εἶμι λιποῖσα,
 μητέρ' ἐμή. χαίροις δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα πολλὸν ἰούσῃ·
 χαίροις Χαλκιόπῃ, καὶ πᾶς δόμος.

Ov. H. 12, 113:

At non te fugiens sine me, germane, reliqui.

The name Absyrtus occurs in Ov. Trist. 3, 9, 6.

Cf. Ap. 4, 421:

ὥς τῷγε ξυμβάντε μέγαν δόλον ἡρτύνοντο
 Ἰψύρτῳ —

vs. 454: — ὃ δ' ἐς λόχον ἦεν Ἰήσων

δέγμενος Ἰψυρτον κτλ.

464: αὐτίκα δ' Αἰσονίδης πυκινού ἐξᾶλτο λόχοιο,
 γυμνὸν ἀνασχόμενος παλάμη ξίφος· αἶψα δὲ ζούρη
 ἔμπαλιν ὄμματ' ἔνεικε, καλυψαμένη δ' ὀδόνῃσιν.
 μὴ φόνον ἀθρήσειε κασιγνήτοιο τυπέντος κτλ.

Ovid seems to have followed here another version of the story according to which Medea herself did the killing. Loers compares Cic. de Nat. Deor. 3, 26:

(Medea) — postquam pater appropinquat iamque
 paene ut comprehendatur parat,
 Puerum interea obtruncat membraque articulatim dividit,
 Perque agros passim dispergit corpus: id ea gratia.
 Ut dum nati dissipatos artus captaret parens,
 Ipsa interea effugeret, illum ut maeror tardaret sequi,
 Sibi salutem ut familiari pareret patricidio.

Ovid's account in Trist. 3, 9 agrees with this. Referred to again in Ibis 435.

Cf. Ep. 6, 129:

Spargere quae fratris potuit lacerata per agros
 Corpora, pignoribus parceret illa meis?

Euripides, does not give these particulars, cf. Eur. Med. 167:

ὦ πάτερ, ὦ πόλις, ὃν ἀπενάσθη
 αἰσχυρῶς, τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνασα κάσιν.

1333: τὸν ἐὼν ἀλάστορ' εἰς ἐμ' ἔσκηψαν θεοί·

κτανοῦσα γὰρ δὴ σὸν κάσιν παρέστιον πτλ.

Hyginus 23 says that Jason killed him and Medea buried him. (Loers.)

Ov. H. 12, 115:

Quod facere ausa mea est, non audet scribere dextra.

When Medea gave Circe an account of the events, she omitted this.

Ap. 4, 734: — φόνον δ' ἀλέεινεν ἐνισπείν
 Ἀψύρτον.

Ov. H. 12, 118:

Credere me pelago femina, tamque nocens.

See note on Ep. 7, 58.

Ov. H. 12, 121:

Compressos utinam Symplegades elisissent.

See note on vs. 7. Cf. Eur. Med. 1.

The Symplegades belong to this myth.

Ap. 2, 317:

πέτρας μὲν πάμπρωτον, ἀφορμηθέντες ἐμεῖο
Κυανέας ὄψεσθε δύνω ἄλως ἐν ξυνοχῇσιν.

It was probably from the Myth of the Golden Fleece that Homer borrowed:

Od. 12, 59:

ἐνθεν μὲν γὰρ πέτραι ἐπηρεφέες, προτὶ δ' αὐτάς
κῆμα μέγα ῥοχθεῖ κυανώπιδος Ἀμφικρίτης·
Πλαγκτάς δὴ τοι τάς γε θεοὶ μάκαρες καλέουσιν.
τῇ μὲν τ' οὔτε ποτητὰ παρέρχεται, οἷδὲ πέλειαι
τερήρωνες, ταί τ' ὀμβροσίην Αἰὶ πατρὶ φέρουσιν,
ἀλλὰ τε καὶ τῶν αἰὲν ἀφαιρεῖται λῖς πέτρῃ·
ἀλλ' ἄλλην ἐνίησι πατήρ ἐναρίθμῳ εἶναι.
τῇ δ' οὐ πώ τις νηῦς φρίγεν ἀνδρῶν, ἣ τις ἱκται,
ἀλλὰ θ' ὁμοῦ πίνακας τε νεῶν καὶ σώματα φωτῶν
κύμαθ' ἄλως φορέουσι πυρός τ' ὀλοοῖτο θύελλαι.
οἷη δὲ κείνῃ γε παρέπλω ποντοπόρος νηῦς,
Ἄργῳ πᾶσι μέλουσα, παρ' Αἰήταο πλέουσα.
καὶ νῦν κε τὴν ἐνθ' ὥκα βάλεν μεγάλας ποτὶ πέτρας,
ἀλλ' Ἥρῃ παρέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰήσων.

Or. H. 12, 123:

Aut nos Scylla rapax canibus misisset edendos!
Debuit ingratis Scylla nocere viris.

There are numerous references to Scylla.

Cf. Od. 12, 185:

ἐνθα δ' ἐνὶ Σκύλλῃ ναίει δεινὸν λελακυνῖα κτλ.

But Ovid refers to Scylla, the daughter of Nisus, who originally belonged to a later myth.

Cf. Aesch. Choeph. 613:

ἄλλαν δὲ τιν' ἐν λόγοις στεγερῶν
φονίαν Σκύλλαν,
αὐτ' ἐχθρῶν ὑπαὶ φῶτ' ἀπώλεσεν φίλον Κρητιοῖς
χερσοδμήτοισιν ὄρμοις πιθήσασα δώροισι Μίνω,
Νίσσον ἀθανάτας τριχὺς ροσφίσας ἀπροβούλως
πνέονθ' ἀ κενόφρων ἔπρω. κίχχάγει δέ γιν' Ἐρμῆς.

For the story of Scylla, see *Ov. Met.* 8, 1—151, where she is transformed into the bird *ciris* and where there seems to be no confusion with the Scylla and Charybdis myth. Still another account is given in *Met.* 14, 17—67, where we have the half-woman. Cf. *Virg. Aen.* 3, 420 ff.; *Ecl.* 6, 74 ff.; *Prop.* 4, 18, 21 ff.; 5, 4, 39 f.; etc.

This seems to have been the most common form of the myth among the Roman poets and is what Ovid refers to here.

Ov. H. 12, 125:

*Quaeque vomit totidem fluctus totidemque resorbet,
Nos quoque etc.*

Hm. Od. 12, 104:

τῷδ' ἵππο δῖα Χάρυβδις ἀναρροιβδεῖ μέλαν ὕδωρ.
τρὶς μὲν γάρ τ' ἀνίσχουσιν ἐπ' ἡματι. τρὶς δ' ἀναρροιβδεῖ
δαινόν. Cf. *Virg. Aen.* 3, 420 ff.

Ap. 4, 787.

νῦν δὲ παρὰ Σκύλλης σκόπελον μέγαν ἡδὲ Χάρυβδιν
δαινὸν ἐρεργομένην δέχεται ὁδός. Cf. vs. 823 ff.; vs. 920f.

Ov. H. 12, 127: *Haemonios*. Ovid used this word frequently in this part of the verse. See Bilger, p. 117.

Ov. H. 12, 129:

*Quid referam Peliae natus pietate nocentes
Caesaque etc.*

Ep. 6, 101:

Atque aliquis Peliae de partibus acta venenis
Imputat.

Eur. Med. 9:

οὐδ' ἂν κταρεῖν πείσασα Πελοπιδᾶς κόρας
πατέρα.

486: Πελοπιδᾶν τ' ἀπέκτειν', ὥσπερ ἄλγιστον θανόν,
παίδων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πάντα δ' ἐξέτιλον φόβον.

Ov. H. 12, 131:

*Ut culpent alii, tibi me laudare necesse est,
Pro quo sum totiens esse coactus nocens.*

Cf. Ep. 6, 137:

Quid refert, scelerata piam si vincet, et ipso
Crimine dotata est emeruitque virum.

Ov. H. 12, 133:

Ausus es — O! iusto desunt sua verba dolori —
Ausus es 'Aesonia' dicere 'cede domo'.

The tendency in these letters is to reduce the action to two persons. Here Ovid does not wish to bring in the character of Creon which he found in Euripides. Cf. *Med.* 67:

ἤκουσά του λέγοντος —
ὡς τοῦσδε παῖδας γῆς ἑλᾶν Κορινθίας
ξὺν μητρὶ μέλλοι τῆσδε κοίρανος χθονὸς
Κρέων.

In vs. 271, it is Creon that says:

σὲ τὴν σκνυρωπὸν καὶ πόσει θυμουμένην,
Μήδειαν, εἶπον τῆσδε γῆς ἔξω περᾶν
φρυγάδα, λαβοῦσαν δισσὰ σὺν σταντῇ τέκνα,
καὶ μή τε μέλλειν.

Ov. H. 12, 135: — natis comitata duobus.

Besides the passage just quoted (*Med.* 273), the two children are mentioned in vs. 1395; children, in vss. 46, and 490.

Ov. H. 12, 137:

Ut subito nostras Hymen cantatus ad aures
Venit, et accenso lampades igne micant,
Tibiaeque effundit socialia carmina vobis,
At mihi funerea flebiliora tubas.

Cf. *Eur. Alcest.* 915:

τότε μὲν πεύκαις σὺν Πηλιάσιν
σὺν θ' ὕμεναίοις ἔσταιχον ἔσω

vs. 922: νῦν δ' ὕμεναίων γόος ἀντίπαλος
λευκῶν τε πέπλων μέλανες στολμοί.

Erinna 6, 5:

ὡς τὰν παῖδ' Ὑμέναιος ὕφ' αἷς (ἄγεν) ἦδετο πεύκαις,
ταῖσδ' ἐπὶ καδεστὰς ἔφλεγε πυρκαϊάν·
καὶ σὺ μὲν, ὦ Ὑμέναιε, γάμων μολπαῖον αἰοιδάν,
εἰς θρηγῶν γοερόν φθέγμα μεθρηγμόςαο.

Prop. 2, 7, 12:

Tibia, funesta tristior illa tuba.

Eustathius *Macrembolit.* 6, 7, 2: καὶ σοὶ μὲν ὁ καλὸς
Σωσθένης ἐπιθαλάμων ἔσει, ἐμοὶ δ' ὁ πατὴρ ἐπιτύμβιον κτλ.

For the use of the trumpet in funerals cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11, 191:

Spargitur et tellus lacrimis, sparguntur et arma,

It caelo clamorque virum clangorque tubarum.

(Cf. *Ov. Am.* 2, 6, 7. For the marriage-torch, cf.

Cat. 61, 15: Pineam quate taedam.

See Homer (quoted below, vs. 143).

(Cf. *Ep.* 11, 101; *Prop.* 3, 19, 25.

Ov. H. 12, 143:

Tubarumunt, et 'Hymen' clamant, 'Hymenae' frequentant.

(Cf. the refrain in *Cat.* 61:

O Hymen Hymenae io,

O Hymen Hymenae

and in *Cat.* 62:

Hymen O Hymenae, Hymen ades O Hymenae.

(Cf. *Ep.* 14, 27:

Vulgus 'Hymen, Hymenae' vocant. fugit ille vocantis.

The marriage-song was ancient.

(Cf. *Hm.* II. 18, 490 (speaking of the shield of Achilles):

ἐν δὲ δῶυ ποίησε πόλεις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
καλάς. ἐν τῇ μὲν ἦα γάμοι τ' ἔσαν εἰλαπίναι τε,
νύμφας δ' ἐκ θαλάμων δαίδων ὑπὸ λαμπομενάων
ἡγήνεον ἀνα ἄστυ, πολὺς δ' ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει·
κοῦροι δ' ὀρχηστῆρες ἐδίνεον, ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν
αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον· κτλ.

(Cf. *Theoc. Id.* 18, 59:

Ὑμῆν ὦ Ὑμέναιε, γάμῳ ἔπι τῷδε χαρεῖης.

Ov. H. 12, 146:

Quis vellet tanti nuntius esse mali?

Cicofanus compares *Soph. Antig.* [277]:

στέργει γὰρ οὐδείς ἄγγελον κακῶν ἐπῶν.

Oc. H. 12, 149:

Cum minor e pueris — lusus studioque videndi.

Eur. Med. 46:

ἀλλ' οἶδ' εἰς παῖδες ἐκ τρόχων πεπανμένοι
στείχουσι μητρὸς οὐδὲν ἐννοούμενοι
κακῶν, νέα γὰρ φροντὶς οὐκ ἀλγεῖν φιλεῖ.

Oc. H. 12, 153:

*Protinus abscissa planxi mea pectora veste,
Tuta nec a digitis ora fuere meis.*

See note on Ep. 10, 15. Cf. Ep. 14, 51.

Tib. 1, 1, 67:

Tum manes ne laede meos, sed parce solutis
Crinibus et teneris, Delia, parce genis.

Cat. 64, 348:

Illius egregias virtutes claraque facta
Saepe fatebuntur gnatorum in funere matres,
Cum incurvo canos solvent a vertice crines,
Putridaque infirmis variabunt pectora palmis.

Oc. H. 12, 157:

*Vix me continui, quin sic laniata capillos
Clamarem 'meus est' inicерemque manus.*

This recalls Roman law and is, of course not to be sought in Greek originals. Cf. Am. 1, 4, 40; 2, 5, 30; Ep. 8, 16; Fast. 4, 90.

Oc. H. 12, 159:

*Laese pater gaude. Colchi gaudete relict
Inferias umbrae fratris habete mei.*

Cf. Met. 8, 125: — Exige poenas,

Nise pater! gaudete malis, modo prodita, nostris
Moenia.

Eur. Med. 328:

ὦ πατρίς, ὥς σου κάρτα νῦν μνηστῆρ' ἔχω.

Oc. H. 12, 161:

*Deseror, amissis regno patriaque domoque,
Coniuge, qui nobis omnia solus erat.*

Cf. Ep. 3. 51 and note.

Eur. Med. 228:

ἐν ᾧ γὰρ ἦν μοι πάντα, γιγνώσκεις καλῶς,
κάκιστος ἀνδρῶν ἐκβέβηχ' οἰμὸς πόσις.

Ap. 4. 361:

πάτρην τε κλέα τε μεγάρων αἰτούς τε τοκῆας
ροσφισιάμην, τά μοι ἦεν ὑπέρτατα.

Eustath. Macrem. 9, 8, 2 (in a letter) διὰ σέ καὶ πατρίδος
καὶ τεκόντων καὶ τῶν κατ' οἶκον λαμπρῶν πάντων κατεφρόνησα
κτλ. For the expression cf. Theoc. Id. 14. 47 Ἄρκος νῦν πάντα.
and Hdt. 7, 156 καὶ ἡσάν οἱ πάντα αἱ Συρίκονσαι.

Oc. H. 12. 163:

*Serpentes igitur potui taurosque furentes,
Unum non potui perdomuisse cirum.
Quaeque feros populi doctis medicatibus ignes,
Non valeo flammis effugere ipsa meas.
Ipsi me cantus herbaeque artesque relinquant.
Nil dea, nil Hecates sacra potentis agunt.*

Cf. Tib. 2. 3. 11 (cf. Virg. Aen. 12, 392):

*Pavit et Admeti tauros formosus Apollo,
Nec citharae intonsae profuerantve comae,
Nec potuit curas sanare salubribus herbis:
Quicquid erat medicae vicerat artis amor.*

Prop. 2. 1. 57:

*Omnes humanos sanat medicina dolores:
Solus amor morbi non amat artificem.*

Ov. Ep. 5, 149:

*Me miserum, quod amor non est medicabilis herbis,
Deficior prudens artis ab arte mea.*

Bach on Philetas p. 26 gives Theoc. Id. 11, 1:

οὐδὲν ποττὸν ἔρωτα περὶ κεν φάρμακον ἄλλο,
Νικία, οὔτ' ἔγχριστον, ἔμην δοκεῖ, οὔτ' ἐπίπαστον,
ἧ τὰς Ημερίδες

and Id. 14. 52:

ᾧ τ' τὸ φάρμακόν ἐστιν ἀμηχανέοιτος ἔρωτος,
οὐκ οἶδα.

For Medea's powers, cf. Ep. 6, 83:

Nec facie meritisque placet. sed carmina novit.
 Diraque cantata pabula falce metit.
 Illa reluctantem cursu deducere Lunam
 Nititur, et tenebris abdere solis equos.
 Illa refrenat aquas, obliquaque flumina sistit:
 Illa loco silvas vivaque saxa movet.
 Per tumulos errat passis discincta capillis,
 Certaue de tepidis colligit ossa rogis.
 Devovet absentis, simulacraque cerea fingit,
 Et miserum tenuis in iecur urget acus.
 Et quae nescierim melius. Male quaeritur herbis,
 Moribus et forma conciliandus amor.

Cf. Prop. 4, 5, 25:

Non me moribus illa, sed herbis improba vicit.

Ap. 3, 528:

κούρη τις μεγάροισιν ἐνιτρώφει Ἀλήτῳ
 τὴν Ἑκάτη περίαλλα θεὰ δάε τεχνήσασθαι
 φάρμακ', ὅσ' ἡπειρός τε φύνει καὶ νήχυτον ὕδωρ.
 τοῖσι καὶ ἀκαμάτοιο πυρὸς μειλίσσεται ἀντμή,
 καὶ ποταμοὺς ἴστησιν ἄφαρ κελαδεῖν ῥέοντας,
 ἄστρον τε καὶ μῆνης ἑρῆς ἐπέδρησε κελεύθους.

4, 41:

τῇ δὲ καὶ αὐτόματοι θυρέων ἑπόειξαν ὀχῆες,
 ὠκείαις ἄψορροι ἀναθρώσκοντες αἰοιδαῖς

4, 50: — οὐ γὰρ αἰδοῖς

ἔην ὁδοῶν, θαμὰ καὶ πρὶν ἀλωμένη ἀμφὶ τε νεκροῖς,
 ἀμφὶ τε δυσπαλέας ῥίζας χθονός, οἷα γυναῖκες
 φαρμακίδες

59, the Moon says,

ἦ θαμὰ δὴ καὶ σέο κίον δολίαισιν αἰοδαῖς,
 μνησαμένη φιλότῳ, ἵνα σκοτίῃ ἐνὶ νυκτὶ
 φαρμάσσης εὐκῆλος, ἃ τοι φίλα ἔργα τέτνυται.

See a full account in Ov. Met. 7, 192 ff. Cf. Eur. Med. 394;
 Tib. 1, 2, 43; 1, 8, 19; Virg. Aen. 4, 487; Ecl. 8, 70; Hor.
 Epod. 5, 45; 17, 77; Prop. 1, 1, 23; Theoc. 2, 14; Aristoph.

Clouds 749; Sosiphanes fr. 1 (Schol. Ap. Rh. 3, 533); Ov. Am. 1, 8. 5; Rem. 269.

Ov. H. 12, 169:

Non mihi grata dies. noctes vigilantur amarae.

Tib. 2, 4, 11:

Nunc et amara dies et noctis amarior umbra est.

Prop. 1, 1, 33:

In me nostra Venus noctes exercet amaras.

Prop. 5, 3, 29:

At mihi cum noctes induxit vesper amaras.

Tib. 1, 2, 76: — cum fletu nox vigilanda venit.

Prop. 4, 14, 2:

Nec veniat sine te nox vigilanda mihi.

3, 9, 3: — quoties desertus amaras

Explevi noctes.

Ov. H. 13, 103:

Sive latet Phoebus, seu terris altior exstat,

Tu mihi luce dolor, tu mihi nocte venis.

Ov. H. 12, 173:

Quos ego servavi, pelex amplectitur artus,

Et nostri fructus illa laboris habet.

Cf. Met. 7, 40:

Ut per me sospes sine me det lintea ventis,

Virque sit alterius, poenae Medea relinquitur?

Ep. 6, 75:

Vota ego persolvam? votis Medea fruatur?

Cor dolet atque ira mixtus abundat amor

Dona feram templis, virum quod Iasona perdo?

Hostia pro damnis concidat icta meis?

Tib. 1, 5, 17:

Omnia persolvi: fruitur nunc alter amore,

Et precibus felix utitur ille meis.

For *pelex* cf. Ep. 6, 133.

For the general sentiment Eur. Med. 263:

γυνή γὰρ τᾶλλα μὲν φόβον πλέα,
κακὴ δ' ἐς ἀλκὴν καὶ σίδηρον εἰσορᾷ·
ὅταν δ' ἐς εὐνήν ἡδικομένη κερῇ,
οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλη φρενὶν μαιφρονώτερα.

Or. H. 12, 175:

*Forsitan et, stultae dum te iacture maritae
Quaeris et iniustis auribus apta loqui.
In faciem moresque meos nova crimina fingas.*

Cf. Prop. 2, 9, 22:

Forsitan et de me verba fuere mala.

See Ep. 1, 77.

Or. H. 12, 178:

Rideat et ritiis lacta sit illa meis.

Birt compares Eur. Med. 797:

οὐ γὰρ γελᾶσθαι τλητόν ἐξ ἐχθρῶν, φίλαι.
vs. 403: — οὐ γέλωτα δεῖ σ' ὀφλεῖν
τοῖς Σισυφείοις τοῖς τ' Ἰάσονος γάμοις.

Or. H. 12, 180:

Flebit, et ardores vincet adusta meos!

Cf. Eur. Med. 783:

ἀλλ' ὥς δόλοισι παῖδα βασιλέως κτανῶ.
πέμπω γὰρ αὐτοὺς δῶρ' ἔχοντας ἐν χερσὶν,
νύμφη φέροντας, τήνδε μὴ φρενὶν χθόνα,
λεπτὸν τε πέπλον καὶ πλόκον χρυσήλατον·
ἅνπερ λαβοῦσα κόσμον ἀμφιθῆ χειρὶ,
κακῶς ὀλεῖται πᾶς θ' ὃς ἂν θίγῃ κόρης·
τοιούσδε χρίσω φαρμάκοις δωρήματα.

For the messenger's account see vs. 1136 ff.

Or. H. 12, 181:

*Dum ferrum flammaeque aderunt sucusque veneni,
Hostis Medae nullus inultus erit.*

Birt compares Eur. Med. 378:

πότερον ὑφάψω δῶμα νυμφικὸν πυρί,
ἢ θηκτὸν ὥσω φάσγανον δι' ἥπατος

vs. 384: κράτιστα τὴν εὐθείαν, ἣ πεφνύκαμεν
σοφαὶ μάλιστα, φαρμάκοις αὐτοῦς ἐλεῖν.

Cf. Eur. Med. 38:

βαρεῖα γὰρ φρήν, οὐδ' ἀνέξεται κακῶς
πάσχουσ.' κτλ.

vs. 394: οὐ μὰ τὴν δέσποιναν —

Ἐκάτην — —

χαίρων τις αὐτῶν τοῖμὸν ἀλγυνεῖ κέαρ.

vs. 807: μηδεῖς με φανύλην κασθενῇ νομιζέτω
μηδ' ἥσυχαιάν, ἀλλὰ θατέρου τρόπου
βαρεῖαν ἐχθροῖς καὶ φίλοισιν εὐμενῇ.

Ov. H. 12, 187; Si tibi sum vilis.

Prop. 3, 6, 12: Dicebar sicco vilior esse lacu.

1, 2, 25: *Non ego nunc vereor, ne sim tibi vilior istis.*

Ov. H. 12, 187 (2nd half): — communis respice natos.

*Eur. Med. 74: Καὶ ταῦτ' ἰάσων παῖδας ἐξανέξεται
πάσχοντας, εἰ καὶ μητρὶ διαφορὰν·"χει;*

Ov. H. 12, 188:

Saeviet in partus dira noverca meos.

Cf. *Ep. 6, 125:*

Legatos quos paene dedi pro matre ferendos.

Sed tenuit coeptas saeva noverca vias.

Medeam timui. Plus est Medea noverca.

vs. 151: *Medeae Medea forem.*

Cf. *Ov. Met. 1, 147 (speaking of the iron age):*

Lurida terribiles miscent aconita novercae.

Eur. Alcest. 309:

ἐχθρὰ γὰρ ἢ 'πιούσα μητρὶά τέκνοις

τοῖς πρόσθ', ἐχίδνης οὐδὲν ἡπιωτέρα.

Virg. Ecl. 3, 34:

Est mihi namque domi pater, est iniusta noverca.

Prop. 5, 5, 10:

Et volueris nidis esse *noverca suis*.

Ov. *H.* 12, 189:

Et nimium similes tibi sunt, et imagine tangor.

Cf. Ep. 6, 123:

Si quaeris, cui sint similes, cognosceris illis.

Trist. 4, 5, 31:

Sic iuvenis similisque tibi sit natus, et illum
Moribus agnoscat quilibet esse tuum.

Ex P. 2, 8, 31:

Perque tibi similem virtutis imagine natum,
Moribus adgnosei qui tuus esse potest.

Cat. 61, 217:

Sit suo similis patri
Manlio et facile insciis
Noscitetur ab omnibus
Et pudicitiam suae
Matris indicet ore.

Virg. *Aen.* 4, 329:

— si quis mihi parvulus aula
Luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret.

Ov. *H.* 12, 190: *lumina nostra madent.*

For Medea's weeping in general cf. Eur. *Med.* 24:

καίται δ' ἄσπις, σῶμ' ὑφείσ' ἀλγυδόσι,
τὸν πάντα συντήχουσα δακρυίοις χρόνον.

Ov. *H.* 12, 191 (cf. vs. 78):

Per superos oro, per avitae lumina flammæ.

Eur. *Med.* 405:

γεγῶσαν ἐσθλοῦ πατρὸς Ἥλιον τ' ἄπο.

746: ὄμνυ πέδον Γῆς πατέρα θ' Ἥλιον πατρός.

Ov. *H.* 12, 193:

*Redde torum, pro quo tot res insana reliqui:
Adde fidem dictis, auxiliumque refer.*

Eur. Med. 20:

Μήδεια δ' ἡ δύστηνος ἱτιμασμένη
βοᾷ μὲν ὄρκους, ἀνακαλεῖ δὲ δεξιᾶς
πίστιν μεγίστην, καὶ θεοὺς μαρτύρεται
οἰας ἀμοιβῆς ἔξ Ἰάσονος κυρεῖ

492: ὄρκων δὲ φρονύδη πίστις, οὐδ' ἔχω μαθεῖν
ἢ θεοὺς νομίζεις τοὺς τότ' οὐκ ἄρχειν ἔτι κτλ.

Ap. 4, 358: — ποῦ τοι Λιὸς Ἰαεσίοιο
ὄρκια, ποῦ δὲ μελιχραὶ ὑποσχεσθαι βεβιάσιν;
ἥς ἐγὼ οὐ κατα κόσμον ἀναιδήτω ἰότητι
πάτρην τε κλέα τε μεγάρων αὐτοῖς τε τοκῆας
νοσφισάμην κτλ.

vs. 370: πάντη νῦν πρόφρων ὑπερίστασο, μὴ δέ με μούνην
σεῖο λίπης ἀπάνευθεν, ἐποικόμενος βασιλῆας.
ἀλλ' αὐτῶς εἴρυσσο, δίκη δέ τοι ἔμπεδος ἔστω
καὶ θέμις, ἣν ἄμφω συναρῶσσάμεν.

Ov. Ep. 7, 110: adde fidem etc.

2, 31: Iura fides ubi nunc etc.

Ov. H. 12, 198: Cf. Ep. 6, 62.

Ov. H. 12, 201:

Aureus ille aries villo spectabilis aureo.

Cf. Ep. 6, 49: Non erat hic aries villo spectabilis aureo.

Besides this, Zingerle, 1, 15, compares Ep. 13, 57; 9, 127;

Am. 1, 8, 59; Met. 6, 166.

Ov. H. 12, 204:

I nunc, Sisypheias, improbe, confer opes.

Cf. Eur. Med. 404:

τοῖς Σισυφείοις τοῖς τ' Ἰάσονος γάμοις.

1581: — γῆ δὲ τῇδε Σισύφον.

Perhaps it is worth mentioning that according to Pausanias (2, 3, 11), this would be an anachronism: τούτων δὲ ἔνεκα ἀπελθεῖν καὶ Μήδειαν παραδοῦσαν Σισύφῳ τὴν ἀρχήν.

Ov. H. 12, 206:

Hoc ipsum, ingratus quod potes esse, meum est.

Cf. *Trist.* 5, 9, 20:

Hoc quoque, quod memores possumus esse, tuum est.

On. H. 12, 209, 212:

Quo feret ira, sequar, facti fortasse pigebit.

Nescio quid certe mens mea maius agit.

Eur. Med. 37:

δέδοικα δ' αὐτὴν μή τι βουλευσῇ νέον.

92: ἤδη γὰρ εἶδον ὄμμα νιν ταυρουμένην
τοῖσδ', ὥς τι δρασεῖουσιν· οὐδὲ παύσεται
χόλον, σάφ' οἶδα, πρὶν κατασκήψαι τινα.

vs. 108: — τί ποτ' ἐργάζεται

μεγαλόσπλαγχνος δυσκατάπανστος

ψυχὴ δηθεῖσα κακοῖσιν;

117: — οἶμοι,

τέκνα, μή τι πάθῃθ' ὥς ὑπεραλγω.

171: οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἔν τινι μικρῷ

δέσποινα χόλον καταπαύσει.

183: σπεῦσον δέ τι πρὶν κακῶσαι

τούς εἴσω.

πένθος γὰρ μεγάλως τόδ' ὀρμᾶται.

316: — ἀλλ' ἔσω φρενῶν

ὀρρωδία μοι μή τι βουλευῆς κακόν.

Ovid follows Euripides in making Medea flee to Athens and marry Aegeus. See *Met.* 7, 394 ff.; *Trist.* 3, 8, 3; *Fast.* 2, 41; *Ep.* 6, 161.

The sixth epistle is most closely connected with the twelfth. See especially *Ep.* 6, 153 ff.

Summary to *Ep.* 12.

This letter is different from those already examined in that we must here assume two main sources, Apollonius and Euripides, covering different parts of the story. The following verses especially suggest Euripides: 7 *cur umquam*, 19 *scelerate*, 21 *est aliqua voluptas*, 105 *barbara*, 106 *pauper*, 121 *Symplegades*, 129 *Pelidae natus*, 135 *natis duobus*, 161 *omnia solus*, 178 *Rideat*,

180 ardores, 181 ferrum flammaeque, 193 Reddetur, 204 Sisyphias, 212 nescio quid mens agit;

And the following, Apollonius: 35 et formosus eras, 39 Dicitur tibi lex, 45 semina, 51 maesti consurgitis, 61 hinc amor hinc, 62 recepta soror, 63 Disiectamque comas adversaque in ora iacentem, 64 lacrimis, 69 delubra Dianae, 72 orsus es, 73 Iungis et aeripedes, 101 Insopor ecce vigil, 112 soror, 115 non audet, 163 serpentes igitur.

These are found in both: 76 gloria, 107 Flammea subduxi, 109 Proditus est genitor.

With the two, Sophocles is joined in 78 genus, avus, Diana.

Propertius is recalled in 71 exciderunt, 87 Iuno quae praesidet, 137 tibia, 175 Forsitan et, 187 vilis;

Propertius and Tibullus 169 amarae noctes;

Tibullus, 173 Quos ego servavi;

Homer, 125 Charybdis;

Horace, 27 Ephyren bimarem:

Virgil, 30 pietos toros, 31 Illa fuit,

57 malo saucia, 88 marmorea in aede;

Catullus and Virgil 189 similis.

Ovid differs in some respect or other from his sources in the following: 38 eminent indicio, 41 Martis erant tauri, 44 nigra per adflatus, 49 Lumina custodis, 58 acta est per lacrimas, 67 Est nemus, 70 aurea dea, 86 quam thalamo nisi tu, 89 Haec animum movere, 97 pallida sedi, 113 germane, 133 Ausus es dicere.

The process of composition in this instance seems to have been a kind of *contaminatio* and the resulting character was a kind of average between the two originals. The Medea of Ovid is not so vindictive as the Medea of Euripides, nor so tender as the Medea of Apollonius.

The story has been elaborated with such detail in our sources that we have been able in most cases to find passages which correspond more or less closely to the lines of Ovid. The work of our poet, as far as concerns his material, was mainly one of selection and condensation. He did not need to add much. Still we find him making changes and omissions to suit

his purpose, just as in the preceding letters. For instance, Ovid's omission of the part played by Aphrodite in the myth, is, presumably, for the sake of avoiding such objections as those urged by Jason in answer to Medea's claims of having saved him, and her charges of ingratitude. Cf. Eur. Med. 526:

ἐγὼ δ', ἐπειδὴ καὶ λίαν πνεργοῖς χάριν,
Κύπριν νομίζω τῆς ἐμῆς ναυκληρίας
σώτειραν εἶναι θεῶν τε κἀνθρώπων μόνην.
σοὶ δ' ἔστι μὲν νοῦς λεπτός, ἀλλ' ἐπίφθορος
λόγος διελθεῖν, ὥς Ἔρως σ' ἠγόγκασε
τόξοις ἀφύκτοις τοῦμόν ἐκσῶσαι δέμας.

For Aphrodite's part cf. Ap. Rh. 2, 425 where Phineus says:

ἀλλὰ φίλοι, φράζεσθε θεᾶς δολόεσσαν ἄρωγὴν
Κύπριδος. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς κλυτὰ πείρατα κεῖται ἀέθλων.

Cf. Ap. 3, 549.

In Ap. 3, 25 Hera says to Athena:

δέῃρ' ἴωμεν μετὰ Κύπριν. ἐπιπλόμεναι δέ μιν ἄμφω
παιδὶ ἐῷ εἰπεῖν δτρύνομεν, αἶ κε πίθηται
κοῦρην Αἰήτεω πολυφάρμακον οἷσι βέλεσσι
θῆλξαι διστεύσας ἐπ' Ἰήσωνι. τὸν δ' ἂν δῶ
κείνης ἐννεσίησιν ἐς Ἑλλάδα κῶας ἀνάξειν.

Aphrodite grants the request, Eros is persuaded and goes, fixes his arrow:

ἰθὺς δ' ἀμφοτέρῃσι διασχόμενος παλάμῃσιν
ἦκ' ἐπὶ Μηδείῃ· ἡν δ' ἀμφασίῃ λάβε θυμόν κτλ.

Cf. Ov. Met. 7, 10:

Et luctata diu, postquam ratione furorem
Vincere non poterat, 'frustra, Medea, repugnas:
Nescio quis deus obstat': ait —

In Ex P. 3, 3, 79 Amor says:

Haec loca tunc primum vidi, cum matre rogante
Phasias est telis fixa puella meis.

Cf. Ex P. 1, 4, 41. Pind Pyth. 4, 384ff.

Again, Ovid is different in describing the feelings of Medea. There is no longing for death as in Euripides (Eur. Med. 97, 144, 227), except in Ovid vs. 3 (cf. vs. 121) there is a wish that she had died before this.

There is no threat against her children (cf. Eur. 113), or fierce imprecations against her husband (cf. Eur. 162, 261, 287, 310, 375).

On the other hand, there is not the same disinterested love as in Apollonius. She gives her help only after receiving his promise (see note on vs. 89). She weighs the consequences and goes where she sees the greater advantages. Cf. Ov. Met. 7, 55:

— non magna relinquam:

Magna sequar etc.

End.

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Corrigenda.

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